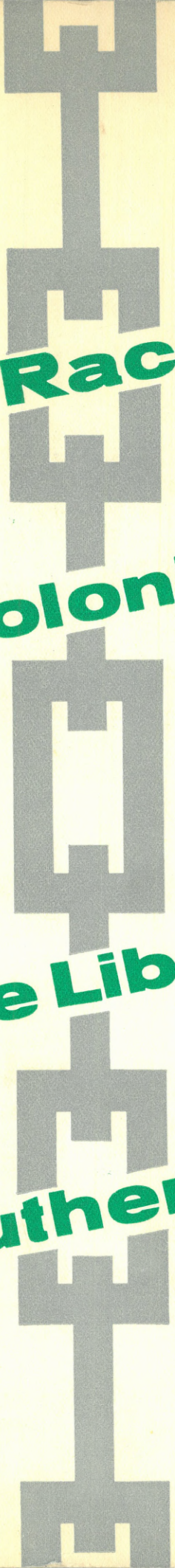

Against Racism and Neo-colonialism – For the Liberation of Southern Africa

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Summary of Proceedings
of the scientific conference "Against Racism and
Neo-Colonialism – For the Liberation of Southern Africa"
Berlin, Capital of the GDR, 22 to 25 May 1968

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Central Council for Asian, African and Latin-American
Sciences in the GDR
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Preface

For many years, the African peoples and all anti-imperialist forces in the world have been leading a struggle for the liberation of Southern African from racism and colonialism. This Conference (an impression of whose spirit and substance may be gathered from the following pages) gave conscious support to this struggle. Its concern was to make a contribution to solidarity and support for the fighting peoples in Southern African, and to help in consolidating the anti-imperialism front throughout the world, in order to bring closer the achievement of its aim: freedom and self-determination for all peoples and the elimination of imperialist menace and suppression in all parts of the world.

That is why the Central Council for Asian, African and Latin-American Sciences in the GDR, a corporate body comprising all scientific institutes and institutions of the GDR dealing with research into problems of the national liberation movement, the social development of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American states, and neo-colonialism, took the initiative to call this Conference. Thus scientists from seven socialist countries were, for the first time, brought together at a scientific conference with representatives of the liberation movements of Southern African, in order to exchange their knowledge on the problems of the struggle against colonialism and racism, to submit and discuss analyses of the situation and its background under various aspects, and to gain new preceptions of the benefit of the joint struggle gainst imperialism in Africa and Europe. The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees of the GDR and the USSR as well as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation and its Permanent Secretariat have supported this intention. In addition, the Central Council for Asian, African and Latin-American Sciences in the GDR has closely cooperated with the Africa Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow in the scientific preparation for this Conference.

By convening and carrying through the Conference, the scientists of the GDR have acted according to the basic ideological and political attitude of their socialist state, whose irrevocable principles are anti-colonialism, anti-racism and anti-imperialism. They acted in accordance with the traditions of the German working-class movement and German humanism, which are characterised by continuous struggle against the reactionary, imperialist and anti-democratic forces within the German nation and by solidarity with the national and social struggle for liberation of the peoples of other countries. And finally, they acted in accordance with the experience gained in the struggle with West German imperialism– an especially dangerous enemy both of the national liberation movement and the security of the European peoples.

The date of the Conference was not selected at random. We acted in the spirit of the UNO decision which declared 1968 Human Rights Year, making 1968 a climax in the struggle for the realization of elementary human rights in Southern Africa, where they are trodden underfoot by the racists and colonialists. And when the Conference released its Declaration on 25 May, the Day of African Unity, that also was a special consideration and a symbol.

The Conference took place in Berlin, the capital of the GDR. In the closing speech, attention was drawn to this circumstance by a historical parallel. When Berlin was still the capital of imperialist Germany a conference dealing with Africa took place here in 1884. At this conference the colonial division of Africa amongst the imperialist big powers was concluded by a treaty. It was a conference of colonialism. But the Berlin conference of 1968 was a conference of anti-colonialism. Here discussions took place on how the last bulwarks of colonialism in Africa can be liquidated. This is a proof of the mighty historic transformation that has taken place in the world since then. Imperialism has suffered numerous defeats. The socialist world system has arisen and its peoples have established the power of the working class. Large parts of Africa have liberated themselves from colonial rule. And today Berlin is the capital of a socialist state.

The proceedings we herewith submit have been very much abridged and, because we want to make important conclusions available to the public as soon as possible, it has also been but little revised.

Abridgments have been made in the main lectures of the Conference (which were given by Dr. H. Schilling, Prof. Dr. V. G. Solodovnikov, Duma Nokwe, Dr. I. P. Jastrebowa and Dr. H. Kramer), as well as in the contributions to discussion. A number of contributions from the total of 150 participants in the Conference we have not had time to include; but they are noted at the end of the papers included. As with the unabridged versions of the speeches and lectures included, their publication must be reserved for the detailed record which is at this moment being prepared for print in several languages. Also, the speeches at a solidarity meeting which took place within the framework of the Conference, could not yet be included in this summary. We are, however, convinced that the extracts presented here reflect the substance and spirit of the conference.

May these pages be a weapon in the struggle for the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa from colonial and racist rule. May they contribute to consolidating the front of the national liberation movement of the suppressed peoples of Southern Africa with the socialist states, with independent Africa, the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement, the international working-class movement and the democratic forces in the capitalist countries. May these pages help towards a more precise recognition of the common foe, imperialism, so that it may be jointly opposed. Then they will have fulfilled their purpose.

The Publishers

We,
–*scientists* from the GDR, the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic, the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, the People's Republic of Poland and the Hungarian People's Republic; representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, the South West African People's Organization, of the Frente de Libertacao de Moçambique, the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola, and the Partido Africano da Independencia de Guine el Cabo Verde; representatives of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization as well as scientists from several independent African states;
–*participants* in the international scientific conference
"Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism,
For the Liberation of Southern Africa,"
which took place at the invitation of the Central Council for Asian, African and Latin-American Sciences of the GDR, in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, from 22 to 25 May 1968;
in realization of the recommendations of the Organization for African Unity and of resolutions 2307 (XXII) and 2311 (XXII) adopted by the general assembly of the United Nations, which appeal to all states and organizations
–to give adequate moral, political and material support to the peoples of Southern Africa in their legitimate struggle for their inalienable rights recognized in the UN charter,
–to inform the public about the evil of the white racist minority regimes,
–to intensify their efforts in 1968, Human Rights Year, in order to support the peoples in their struggle for liberation from the yoke of colonial and fascist rule;
declare to the public as follows:
"The conference dealt with the scientific analysis and interpretation of numerous aspects of the colonial, racist and fascist oppression of the peoples of Southern Africa by imperialism and the struggle for their liberation. As a result of its investigations the conference concluded that:
–The racist, colonialist and fascist regimes in Southern Africa have perfected their system of suppression and exploitation in many spheres and stepped up their military power in defiance of the will of the peoples of the world.
–This escalation of terror and exploitation is only possible due to the fact that the ruling regimes in Southern Africa have allies in the form of international finance capital as well as of the imperialist states–USA, the West German Federal Republic, Britain, France and others–which assign to them an important role in their global strategy directed against the forces of democracy, of national liberation and socialism. They are to form a bastion of colonialism and a spring-board of the imperialist powers for the re-colonisation of Africa.
–The perfection of the system of "white" racist domination and their intensified integration into a reactionary bloc in Southern Africa have increased the sufferings of the African population of these countries, and constitute both in the form of the military confrontation and the dangerous policy of infiltration a growing danger to the sovereignty of the independent African states and a danger to world peace.

The West German Federal Republic established a close political, economic and nuclear-military alliance with the colonialists and racists in Southern Africa. This alliance plays a particularly effective role in the maintenance and intensification of colonialism in Southern Africa. It has recently been strengthened by the West German government with the aim of making the whole South of Africa–within the framework of their own imperialist plans–a special sphere of influence of West German imperialism. In contrast to the neo-colonialist and neo-fascist policy pursued by the Federal Republic in Africa, the participants in this scientific conference–among them particularly the representatives of the national liberation movements–welcome the fact that the German Democratic Republic gives substantial political and material aid to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa and also supports by its policy of peace and friendship among the peoples the independent countries of Africa in their economic and social development as well as in their struggle against the neo-colonialist entanglement. We are convinced that the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the independent African states and the GDR, the anti-colonialist German state, is also necessary in the interest of the national liberation struggle in Africa.

The representatives of all socialist countries of Europe are happy about the fact that all these countries promote in every respect the struggle of the national liberation movements and apply consistently the decisions and resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity for the boycott of the white racist minority regimes in Southern Africa.

The conference condemns resolutely the racial despotism of the minority regimes in the Republic of South Africa, and in Zimbabwe, and the colonial rule of Portugal against the freedom-loving peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissao, and calls for the mobilisation of all anti-imperialist forces to halt the cooperation of the imperialist powers with the ruling regimes in Southern Africa.

The conference notes that the peoples of Southern Africa have started a just armed struggle to destroy racism, fascism and colonialism and concludes that this was the only effective means at the disposal of the peoples to liberate themselves. The conference welcomes the support given to the struggle of the national liberation movements by those countries which are adjacent to the areas of conflict between the peoples of Southern Africa and the fascist and racialist regimes.

This scientific conference is an expression of the aspiration for unity of all progressive people in their struggle against racism and neo-colonialism. The conference calls on all anti-imperialist forces all over the world to close their ranks in an anti-imperialist fighting front for the liberation of the African South, to intensify

their solidarity with the anti-colonial movement of South Africa, Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissao, and to support all forms of the liberation struggle.

We shall make available to the world public the scientific results of our investigations and regard this as a contribution to achieve our common aim: to liberate the peoples of Southern Africa from the domination of racism and colonialism and to implement the universality of their claim to fundamental human rights.

Berlin May 25 1968

G. SCHIRMER (G.D.R.)

Opening Address

1968 has been declared "Human Rights Year" by the United Nations. The fact that the GDR's Central Council for Asian, African and Latin American Sciences has convened the scientific conference "Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism, For the Liberation of Southern Africa" in this very year is by no means accidental. The UN decisions against all forms of racialism, and for implementing human rights all over the world, logically meet with all-round support from the government and the population of the German Democratic Republic. The fact that the conference is held in the GDR should be viewed within this framework; it is to be regarded as a specific contribution of the scientists of the socialist countries and of the national liberation movements to implementing the humanistic UN declarations, and testifies to the common aims of Marxist-Leninist social science and of the national liberation movements of the peoples in the African South.

The population of the GDR, the first socialist state of the German nation, gave itself a new socialist constitution recently, which reflects the situation in the development of social conditions in the democratic part of Germany. This socialist constitution of the GDR is based on the principles laid down in the charter of the United Nations. Article 6: "The German Democratic Republic supports the striving of the peoples for freedom and independence and fosters relations of peaceful cooperation with all states on the basis of equality and mutual respect."

"Militaristic and revanchist propaganda in any form, warmongering, and the manifestation of hatred against creeds, races and nations are punished as crimes."

The German Democratic Republic has learnt the lessons of German history. We Germans know full well the cunning of imperialism in sowing racial hatred. We have ourselves experienced that racialism is always used by the ruling class to disguise political and socio-economic contradictions, to consolidate the rule of the monopoly capital, to oppress the peoples, by diverting attention from the social contradictions wanting solution, through artificially-produced contradictions.

This is also why we in the GDR feel especially obliged to struggle against any form of racialism, and to unmask the dangers inherent in this imperialist, reactionary instrument. It is for this reason that the GDR supports consistently demands for granting all people human rights, and advocates a union of all anti-imperialist forces, in order to overcome in the historically shortest period the socio-economic basis of racialism–imperialism. This corresponds to our national interest at the same time, as we are concerned for the triumph of the democratic sections in West Germany, in order to stop the imperialist, neo-nazi development in West Germany, the constant threat to peace in Europe and in the world.

For this very reason the choice of the venue for the Conference–the capital of the first socialist state of the German nation–and the year of human rights in which we hold this conference, are more than a merely symbolic expression of the deep-felt concern of the conference: "Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism, For the Liberation of Southern Africa."

This Conference has set itself the aim of exposing the anti-humanistic, deeply reactionary and criminal Apartheid policy of the white minority in the South African Republic and its causes, and to show the close collaboration between the racialist regimes in Southern Africa and world imperialism, as well as the manysided support being rendered by the most reactionary forces of international monopoly capital – especially the USA, West Germany and Great Britain.

Our Conference is to expose the role being played by the reactionary "white bloc" in the African South within the framework of the imperialist global strategy, and to show the permanent threat to the African liberation movements by the collaboration between the Apartheid regime of the South African Republic, the illegal Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and the Portuguese colonialists. The exposure of the methods, the extent, and the objectives of West German neo-colonialism, of the aggressive character of the Bonn–Pretoria alliance, of the support for the Smith regime and Portuguese colonialism by the West German Kiesinger–Strauss Government, proves the continued expansion of West German imperialism in Southern Africa, and demonstrates that West German imperialism has not learnt any lessons from the past.

The Conference has set itself the task of producing evidence of the brutal colonial exploitation in Southern Africa by allied international monopoly capital, which in order to uphold its rule in this territory as long as possible has included essential elements of neo-colonialism into its system of exploitation.

We want to unmask the strategy of world imperialism, above all of the USA and West Germany in Southern Africa, and analyse the contradictions created there as a result of imperialist exploitation and racial discrimination, as well as the situation of the population in these countries under the conditions of crisis and the crumbling of the colonial system.

It is an essential task of the conference to work out a thorough, Marxist analysis of the forces of the national liberation movements in Southern Africa, in particular of the working class, its party and class organizations in this heroic struggle against the reactionary forces in Southern Africa and against world imperialism. The Conference is designed to help strengthen the solidarity of the GDR population with the heroic struggle of the revolutionary forces in Southern Africa against racialism and colonialism, and expose the support of the Bonn state for the reactionary regimes there. The Conference will back the condemnation of colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa by the United Nations General Assembly.

Last but not least, the Conference is to contribute to the working-out of the strategy and tactics of the world-wide revolutionary movement against imperialism, racialism, and neo-colonialism, for the strengthening of solidarity of all progressive forces and for the liberation of Southern Africa.

In this spirit I wish the Conference good progress and great success – and may all our guests from abroad enjoy pleasant stay in the GDR.

H. SCHILLING (G.D.R.)

World Imperialism, West German Neo-Colonialism and the African South

During the last two decades the disintegration of the imperialist colonial system has taken place, induced (partly directly and partly indirectly) by the existence and impact of the world socialist system, and carried out by the broad national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples. We all know very well that this process of anti-colonialist liberation is a phenomenon of great historic significance and an important part of the global revolutionary process which weakens imperialism, which makes the rebirth of the colonially-enslaved peoples possible, and which closes one of the most shameful chapters in the history of mankind. We also know that this process has not been completed. I mean that in two senses.

Firstly, the imperialist colonial system has been liquidated as a cohesive political system. Many states have eliminated the rule of foreign imperialist powers and have fought for and won their nationhood. At the same time however, they were not able immediately to liquidate the economic roots and foundations of the colonialist system which stood in the way of the achievement of national independence and enabled colonialism to continue in the form of neo-colonialism. Thus we see today the national liberation movement entering a new phase of revolutionary development by applying itself to the solution of the economic problems and social contradictions (in the countries freed from colonialism), by leading the struggle for a non-capitalist orientation in social development, and by defending itself against counter-revolutionaries and attempts by imperialism to restore neo-colonialism. Only in this process–which is by no means a straight-forward process and may suffer temporary setbacks, as with any social and class conflict–can the liquidation of the economic foundations of the colonialist system and the removal of its roots be achieved. That is one aspect of the problem.

Secondly, while it is valid to point out that the imperialist colonial system has broken down as a cohesive world system of colonial oppression and exploitation, nevertheless *territorially* not all of its components have been removed. While the political liberation of the former colonies in Asia and in the larger part of Africa took place in quick succession and proceeded stormily in the early sixties, the process of decolonisation seems to have stopped short of Southern Africa.

The problem of the African south is still unsolved. It is among the most important of our time. The south of Africa today is one of those regions in which the forces of progress, democracy and national liberation, just as in Vietnam or at the Suez Canal, clash most fiercely with the forces of reaction, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Although the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South West Africa and especially their valiant vanguards have for years conducted a determined and sacrificial liberation struggle against their rulers, although the independent African states, their organisation the OAU, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the international working class movement, the socialist countries, the majority of UN states and the UN as an organisation support this struggle either morally, politically or materially–or in many cases through a combination of these–and although practically the whole of the humanitarian world sympathises with this struggle and sees an odium generis humanis in the Establishment in South Africa and protests against this, *the racialist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa still exist. They have not only maintained their existence up till now, but have even perfected their system of colonial oppression and exploitation step by step and have been able to enlarge their military power.* When one bears in mind the succession of the architect of apartheid, Verwoerd, by apartheid's specialist in repressive legislation, Vorster; the extension of apartheid and oppressive legislation in South Africa; the Rivonia trial; the coup d'état of the Rhodesian extremists; the hangings in Salisbury and the Portuguese colonial war; then one cannot avoid referring to an *escalation of terror* in Southern Africa. The sanctions laid down by the UN and the OAU have so far not achieved their aim, public protests throughout the world have not had a striking effect and the struggle of the African patriots has not been in a position to force through a decisive change. Pretoria has ignored UN decisions withdrawing South Africa's mandate over South West Africa; economically-weak Portugal seems able to afford a long, costly colonial war and maintain and equip a large colonial army with modern weapons; the ultras in Rhodesia laugh when the British Queen reprieves Zimbabwean patriots who have been sentenced to death. *How is all this possible?* The answer must result from a most comprehensive scientific analysis. The political and journalistic party-liners of the ruling imperialist forces in Southern Africa and their apologists who feign a serious, scientific approach, try, as is well known, to paralyse criticism of colonialism and racialism by accusing such critics of being "ideologically obsessed" and of having a "one-sided approach". They call such criticism the propaganda of a "power-hungry ideology".[1] They do this because they lack factual arguments against such criticism and such scientific analysis. But in one point they are right: they accuse critics of taking sides.[2] It is a fact that science must take sides if it is devoted to the service of humanity's progress. Who could be neutral when colonialism and national liberation, inhuman reaction and the striving for freedom and dignity, are locked in such bitter struggle as in the south of Africa? It is in this sense that the answer to the question we put above takes sides; it is dictated by partisanship on the side of social progress, based on brotherhood and solidarity with the African liberation movement. It is only from this position that the answer can–if at all–correctly comprehend reality, and thus be true.

When investigating this question, then, we must at least distinguish between internal and external factors, as every scientific analysis of the situation and problems of the African south has to. I will deal with the external factors and give my view on them, because I have gained the conviction that external factors are of primary importance for an answer to our question.

1 W. Röpke, Südafrika in der Weltwirtschaft und Weltpolitik. (South Africa in World Economy and World Politics) In: Africa und seine Probleme (Africa and its Problems), published by A. Hunold, Zürich–Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 125/126

2 ibid. p. 126

In a country such as the South African Republic, in which the exercise of power by the ruling class is regulated by "laws" to such an extent that plain despotism is the order of the day, it is inherent in the system that the exposed representatives of this power deal with truth in a very arbitrary manner. I have to stress this observation, as I intend to quote the present President of South Africa, J. Fouché, at the time Defence Minister, regarding his intention to step up the armament of the apartheid regime after the Katanga rebellion had been put down by African UN troops, declared: "Now we are alone, entirely alone."[3] (12th March 1962 to Parliament in Cape Town)

Not to mince words, this statement is a plain lie. Even Ian Smith, the head of the racialist government in Rhodesia, refuted his accomplices in Pretoria when he maintained: "We hope to obtain aid from all of our friends and I believe that we have more friends than certain people accept."[4] The truth is *that the racialist and colonialist regimes in the south of Africa are still viable and able to escalate their terror, because they are a firm component of the global imperialist system of counter-revolution, because they possess mighty allies in the form of international monopoly capital and the imperialist states* which have concentrated their forces in order to obstruct the extension of democracy, national self-determination, the freedom of peoples and socialism to Southern Africa, in order to build there a dam against the spreading of national and social revolution on the African continent, and behind this to maintain an El Dorado for colonial exploitation. It has not been possible to realise the liberation of the south of Africa largely *because the revolutionary movements of its peoples have not only had to fight against Vorster, Smith and Salazar, but in practice have at the same time had to fight the collaboration of US, West German, French, British, Japanese and Israeli imperialism.*

But it would surely be wrong to be satisfied with only a reference to what has already been said and worked out on this topic. Such a conclusion would psychologically play into the hands of the neo-colonialists, for in their eyes *the world should gradually get accustomed to and apathetic about the fact that the great imperialist powers are supporting and making possible the continued existence and the escalation of colonial oppression and exploitation of the peoples of Southern Africa–within the framework of their global strategy against the forces of socialism and democracy and national liberation, in the pursuance of their interests in profit and power, coordinated in NATO or outside of existing alliances and in competition or rivalry with their imperialist partners or in joint imperialist action.* And the neo-colonialists would like the world to finally cease to be concerned at all. For this reason it is necessary to refer to the significance of this alliance time and time again, to work out its main direction and, in particular, its new aspects; and to incorporate these in the analysis of the situation in the south of Africa.

A closer examination of the functional relationship between world imperialism and the present system of rule in the south of the African Continent, leads us to ask ourselves the question: does not this relationship represent a political and psychological burden for the leading imperialist powers, and is not South Africa in fact – as one petty-bourgeois intellectual put it – "the *troublesome* friend of the West"?[5] Probably, one must reply yes and no to this.

"Yes", because the racialist and colonialist regimes in the south of Africa are so discredited throughout the whole world that an alliance with them discredits even the ally, especially in those areas where, as in the already independent states of Africa and Asia, a changed power relationship forces the imperialists to feign anti-colonialism, friendship and readiness to help in order to secure their political influence, economic positions and social prestige. *The alliance of the imperialist states with the white African south daily destroys every fiction of anti-colonialism, a fiction which is a basic ingredient of their neo-colonialist policy towards the independent Afro-Asian states.*

But again, we can say "No", it is not a burden–because this alliance between world imperialism and the white bloc in Southern Africa is an integral part of the imperialist nature of the social systems of both partner groups; and because this alliance itself is a part of the self-contradictory neo-colonialism of the imperialist powers. *The economic, political and strategic military interests of world imperialism in the maintenance and strengthening of its colonial bastion in the south of Africa, are today stronger than the requirements for a neo-colonialist policy of detente in the independent states of Asia and Africa.*

The governments of the western powers and international monopoly capital answer this contradiction with large-scale *political double-dealing.* In this they are by no means original. This tactic has its parallels, for example, in the USA's approach in Vietnam, where it hypocritically propagates its readiness to take part unconditionally in peace talks, while simultaneously imposing new conditions and escalating the terror bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Another parallel is found in the political manoeuvres of the so-called "grand coalition" in the West German Federal Republic, which is characterised both in home policy and, for example, in the "new eastern policy", by division of labour between the leaders of the CDU and the SPD. The division of labour between various political representatives of the imperialist states and between various groupings of finance capital is also a decisive element of the neo-colonialist double-game as pursued in Southern Africa. While West German Social Democratic Ministers Brandt and Wischnewski declared that they "reject any policy of racial segregation and racial discrimination", Strauss and Abs, who in reality have for years determined the course of the West German Federal Republic, were forging the political, economic and nuclear-weapon military axis between Bonn and the "white bloc" in Southern Africa.

German imperialism has special reasons for camouflaging its policy of double-dealing in Africa. For German imperialism it is not only a question of linking the independent African states with imperialism and maintaining the basis of the colonial system of exploitation, i.e. the general neo-colonialist objective; but there is also the specific political aim of maintaining its claim to the sole representation of Germany–the Hallstein Doctrine–

3 Quoted after J. Ziegler, La contre-révolution en Afrique. Paris 1963, p. 155

4 Neue Züricher Zeitung, 20. November 1965

5 See F. Duve, Südafrika – des Westens lästiger Freund (South Africa – the troublesome friend of the West). In: Kap ohne Hoffnung (Cape without Hope), Hamburg 1965, p. 67

which is nothing less than a threat of aggression against the German Democratic Republic, camouflaged in juristic language. It comprises the crux of the West German revanchist foreign policy directed against socialism and European security. West German pressure on emergent African states to apply the Hallstein Doctrine has even intensified to the same extent and at the same time as the same Doctrine with regard to the socialist countries, and in the light of West Germany's more flexible softening-up policy, has been discarded for all purposes. *The double-dealing African policy could be rendered ineffective, and the further application of the Hallstein Doctrine itself could be made impossible, if the West German relationship to white Southern Africa were compelled to expose itself more clearly and at an official level, as it has been already at an unofficial level.*

The West German government believes it can get out of the affair and conceal its double-game by using its *"policy of neutrality"* designed for public consumption. Only a short while ago Vice-Chancellor Brandt was once again argufying at the ambassadors' conference in Abidjan, where he declared Bonn's growing trade with South Africa, for example, as being "outside any form of political consideration", despite the UN and OAU boycott resolutions. Even bourgeois West German critics of Bonn's pro-colonialist policy, who share in anti-communist thinking and merely recommend a more careful and far-sighted approach, have to admit in the face of this *that "absolute neutrality" with regard to South Africa begins principally with overt support for the white regime* and apart from this is useless propaganda, as the Federal Republic "is regarded as the best friend of South Africa despite this externally-maintained neutrality".[6]

Similarities with West Germany's Middle East policy come to the fore here, where Bonn has in practice pursued the same tactics with the same formula. Officially it behaves as though it were neutral, and expounds its friendly feelings towards the Arab states, yet uses economic pressure to split their united front, while at the same time supporting the aggressor Israel politically, economically and militarily.

The double-talk in West Germany's policy towards the developing countries is crystal-clear. All the same, I would like to trouble West German Federal President Heinrich Lübke once again by referring to his speech during West Germany's Africa Week in 1966. He said: "The free part of Germany is on the side of all those forces in the world that are guided by the principles of national freedom and solidarity among peoples."[7] This makes the contradiction, which we meet all the way along in West German policy, especially clear. Who can talk of a "free" Germany, and at the same time forget the police terror against demonstrating students and workers, the emergency constitution or the prohibition of anti-fascist and democratic forces? Who can talk of this state and this government being on the side of those forces in the world which are guided by the principles of national freedom, and at the same time forget that Bonn is the closest ally of the USA in the war of destruction being fought against the Vietnamese people who are striving for nothing more than their national freedom? And who could overlook the fact that the same man (Lübke) only a few years ago delivered these much-quoted words: "The problems of the natives are in good hands with the government of South Africa– its knowledge could be put to good use everywhere on the continent."[8] He admired the policy of apartheid and the concentration camps of those who have imitated Hitler, for whom Lübke himself designed and constructed concentration camps. And he is the No. 1 man in the German Federal Republic!

The double-dealing and camouflage, then, are hardly adequate to cover up the relationship between world imperialism and the African south. But these are enough for western diplomats to shirk the realisation of the warning of African heads of state and government, contained in the resolution of the First Summit Conference of the OAU and addressed to the allies of the colonial powers exactly five years ago, which said "that they will have to choose between their friendship for the African people and their support for the powers oppressing the African peoples".

The relationship between world imperialism and the colonialist and racialist regimes in Southern Africa is founded on very real economic, political and strategic interests and is therefore–as has already been pointed out–objectively determined, i.e. it is subject to the spontaneous inevitability with which the regularity of economic and social development becomes effective, as with societies which were late in becoming capitalist.

The *economic interests* of international monopoly capital in the south of Africa in the first place mainly concern the *"classical" colonialist functions of this region as a source of raw materials, a market and a sphere of capital investment.* The wealth of raw materials in Southern Africa, which attracts finance capital from all over the world and plays an important role in the plans of the strategic military staffs, has already been dealt with often enough. One can speak of an exceptional multiplicity and an extraordinary extent of sources of raw materials, particularly with regard to the region of the "white bloc" as a whole. Bourgeois economists for this reason also term this region "the most indispensable sector of the world's economy".[9] The production of gold in South Africa, which in 1966 made up 75.2 per cent of the entire gold production of the capitalist world, is of decisive political importance for the whole of the capitalist world's monetary system, as the latest dollar crisis has proved. The production of gold is without market risks, the economic attractivity of which has further increased with the recent splitting of the gold market, while South Africa's world economic role has also increased. There can be no doubt that consequences arise from this for the political role of South Africa within the imperialist system.

Although individual imperialist powers have specific interests regarding certain raw materials, e.g. the USA is interested in Rhodesia's chromium ores, West Germany and France in South Africa's uranium oxide, or West Germany in Angola's iron ore, *there is a widely based and powerful desire among the monopolies of all imperialist countries to secure supplies of raw materials from Southern Africa. No less obvious is their interest*

6 ibid. pp. 73 and 92

7 Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, 11 May 1966

8 Informationen aus Südafrika (Information from South Africa), published by the South African Embassy in Cologne, April 1959

9 W. Röpke, op. cit. p. 131

in the countries of Southern Africa as markets for their exports. What makes this specially noteworthy is that Southern Africa is not simply a market for finished industrial goods, i.e. does not have a colonial export structure in the "classical" sense, but is to a far greater extent than the emergent countries an expanding market for highly-technical industrial equipment, machines and plant.

Still more profitable than the import of raw materials from and the export of machines to South Africa, are the capital investments in Southern Africa themselves, for the trusts and the international finance houses. *The profitability conditions available there for monopoly capital prove to be decisive components of the economic interest demonstrated by imperialism in Southern Africa.* It cannot be stressed often enough *that the monopolies in Southern Africa on the average make the highest profits in the world,* because this explains not only the economic constellation, but also many features of the political one. Dividends alone, which, as is known, only make up the smaller part of total profit, amount to 12–27 per cent. A few years ago a West German economic periodical wrote: "The dividends paid by South African undertakings are as a rule twice as high as in the Federal Republic."[10]

The question arises as to the source of these profits, which are maximum ones in the truest sense of the word, a question that is important because the monopolies are naturally not only interested in making profits alone, but are also interested in maintaining conditions which guarantee the making of giant profits in the future.

In order to give a rough outline of the conditions for foreign capital investment in Southern Africa, which we deem necessary because they provide an excellent illustration of the relation of world imperialism to this region and its present political organisation and social structure, we have to take into account the *different socio-economic characters of Southern Africa's ruling systems.* This knowledge is also the basis for determining the equally differentiated character of the relations of world imperialism to the different parts of the "white bloc" in the south of Africa.

Angola and Mozambique are colonies in the classical sense of the word. They are underdeveloped in the economic field, lop-sided and unorganic in their structure, and dominated by Portugal, a foreign colonial power. Formal Portuguese rule is coupled with the *de facto* rule of a large number of international monopoly groups in Angola and Mozambique and has only been maintained during the last few years as a result of the economic and political support given to economically backward Portugal by other imperialist powers, in particular the West German Federal Republic, within the framework of NATO.

The mechanism of exploitation in the Portuguese colonies continues to present all features of "classical colonialism", i.e. exploitation of a "raw material economy" on the basis of the underdevelopment of productive forces and the home market resulting from coercion exerted mainly outside the economic field.

Things are different in the Republic of South Africa. There are two components determining the various factors of the process of foreign capital investment: *First, South Africa is an economically developed industrialised country save for its "reserves". Second, South Africa must be defined as a colonial power of a specific type. The combination of these two components forms the basis for the exceptional conditions of exploitation.*

Only ten years ago South Africa was labelled an "underdeveloped country" by some western economists such as Achmed Muddathir.[11] If this statement had referred to the political system, the ideology or moral principles of white South Africa, which are indeed "underdeveloped" and express an anachronistic, quasi-medieval form of barbarism if measured against the social progress achieved in the 20th century, it would hold good even today. But since it was meant to characterize the level of development of the productive forces, the economic level and industrial potential of South Africa, it was incorrect at the time it was made and it is still more so today. Even in 1960 South Africa ranked closely behind Great Britain and West Germany with a per capita income of $749, ahead of such industrialised countries as France and Belgium and clearly outdoing Italy, Japan and other capitalist countries. It has at its disposal a modern processing industry whose share in the production of the national income is higher than that of mining and agriculture taken together.

For our statement of the problem it is of particular interest that the gross national product in South Africa has seen an above-average rate of growth for a prolonged period, e.g., an average figure of more than 6 per cent between 1960 and 1965 with prices remaining constant.[12] Industrial production developed even faster. If we speak about the growing significance of Southern Africa as an outlet for the export monopolies of the imperialist countries, this fact is mainly rooted in the expansion of the economy and in its specific features, which have largely increased the capacity of the South African market for investment goods. In view of sharpening contradictions between production and market capacity in the main capitalist countries, of stagnation and depression particularly in West Germany and Great Britain, and of the foreign exchange position of the U.S.A. which is pressing for a rise in exports, the markets in Southern Africa are magnets for international monopoly capital.

In close correlation with this economic development, the former British colony of South Africa became a *specific type of colonial power.* A white South African monopoly bourgeoisie emerged whose extremely nationalist Boer section, along with the big landed proprietors, profited from the newly won state power by conducting a policy of apartheid, a specific system of colonial exploitation and oppression of the non-white population. *The colonial rule of the South African monopoly bourgeoisie is founded on the complete deprivation of the non-white population of any political or social rights, confinement in territories in the form of 'Bantustans' and urban ghettos, and on the colonial status of the whole non-white population,* regardless of their domicile, *as laid down by a number of measures of so-called limited or petty apartheid.* Their instrument is physical coercion, state-organised terror. *What were external conditions of exploitation for the classical colonial powers in*

10 Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 18 December 1962

11 A. Muddathir, Die Industrialisierung der wirtschaftlich unterentwickelten afrikanischen Länder und ihre Auswirkung auf die Weltwirtschaft (The Industrialisation of the economically under-developed African countries and its effect on world economy). (West) Berlin 1957, p. 38

12 Die Welt, Hamburg, 11 April 1967

relation to their colonies, are now internal colonial conditions for South Africa.

The system of apartheid, which in the last analysis–as even bourgeois intellectuals have to admit – is economic in nature, *represents a highly developed system of state-controlled economy in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie.* It passes far beyond the "normal" functions of the state-monopoly system which consist of the redistribution of the national economy in favour of the monopolies, in capitalist programming and in the state-enforced settlement of labour conflicts etc. *One of its principal economic features is that it completely eleminates the 'market' mechanism in the purchase and sale of labour power, removes all bargaining between the capitalists and the workers on the labour market as far as the non-white population is concerned (who are the bulk of labour), and replaces this by a form of labour supply which is coercively regulated by the state.* This regulation implies that labour power is available at all times; that it is available where the capitalist process of utilisation requires it; that it is available (through forcible exchange) in the physical quality needed for the highly intensive process of work, which, in its turn, permits a steady, high labour intensity; that the replacement costs of labour power and with it its value is kept extremely low and, moreover, that the payment of labour power is reduced below its value mainly by eliminating the moral factor in the determination of the value of labour power (i.e., economic class struggle) and by imposing a qualification barrier (which practically results in complex labour being remunerated like simple labour).

Incidentally, this clearly shows that the South African rulers have adopted not only the ideology of German fascism and the organisational system of its economic structure, but also essential parts of its economic system. The level of state-monopoly regulation now reached in South Africa shall be attained in West Germany by introducing an emergency constitution including decrees on labour conscription, the cancellation of the right to strike etc.

Drawing conclusions about the conditions for foreign capital investments in Souts Africa, we must state that *the apartheid system, in conjunction with the high level of industrial development in the South African economy as a whole, is guaranteeing an extremely high degree of exploitation of labour power.* It is not only possible to keep low the constant capital to be invested due to the state's stepped-up development of the infrastructure and to the fact that South Africa has the lowest prices in the capitalist world for coal and electricity, for steel and copper, but also to keep down the variable capital as a result of the colonial living conditions imposed on labour. *At the same time there is a considerable combination of the production of relative and absolute surplus value owing to high productivity in the process of work (explained by the high level of industrial development) and to great labour intensity (explained by the regulation of labour supply through the colonial state).* The results are rates of profit which are well above the average of the capitalist world.

Equally favourable are the conditions for the *appropriation* of profits by the monopolies in South Africa.

These monopolies are making the best of the favourable conditions of exploitation. They take advantage of the lower costs there to transfer entire lines of production to South Africa so as to build up an African Hong Kong with a view to re-exporting cheap goods in large series to Europe. They turn to their account the geographical situation in order to step up their exports to Latin America–like certain European monopoly groups–and to infiltrate the independent African countries economically, mainly those south of the equator. These efforts are encouraged by two circumstances: First, the economic nature of the apartheid system involves a continuous restriction of the home market of the Republic of South Africa as regards individual consumption. While an investment or armament boom may create expanding markets for a prolonged period, these will sooner or later be confronted with the extremely low purchasing power of the masses. *This system is therefore provided with powerful economic incentives for external expansion,* which for obvious reasons is aimed in the first place at the countries north of South Africa. *Second, this trend is increased by the colonialist nature of the South African regime, which is behind its urge for expansion, for the subordination and domination of foreign economic territories.* The South African monopoly bourgeoisie is following this urge by annexing South West Africa, by conducting a policy of alignment, by seeking to set up a common market in Southern Africa and by pursuing a "new line" of neo-colonialist subversion and infiltration against the independent African states.

Our examination of the matter has shown that the colonialist and racialist regimes in the south of Africa are fulfilling *two main economic functions in the world system of neo-colonialism:*

1. By preventing the national and social liberation of the African south they maintain one of the most lucrative spheres of exploitation for international monopoly capital. According to well-founded estimates foreign investments in Southern Africa are totalling at least 25,000 million marks. Basing our calculations on an average dividend rate of 20 per cent, which is given in many sources, we can draw the conclusion that the concerns and trusts of the big western powers are forcing yearly profits of at least 5,000 million marks out of the population in the African south. This fantastic sum explains the economic interest world imperialism has in Southern Africa, in the existence of white regimes and in the continuance of the function performed by these regimes.

2. They provide the basis, the launching-pad for the neo-colonialist economic expansion of international finance capital in subequatorial Africa.

When looking closely at these two functions, it is becoming clear that they are intimately linked up with a political task and with the political and strategic interests of neo-colonialism. Their carrying-out is possible only by the political confrontation with the African liberation movement.

The political and military-strategic interest that world imperialism takes in the African south is in no way second to its economic interest. *The colonialist and racialist regimes in this region assume important functions in the imperialist global strategy which is spearheaded against socialism, democracy and national liberation, a strategy headed by the U.S.A. and West Germany.*

This fact explains amply why there is a close connection between the problems of the African south and the struggle for world peace, for European security and against the aggressive policy of West German imperialism seeking a change of the status quo in Europe.

The role of the minority regimes under the imperialist

global strategy is *first* aimed at the sphere they are controlling themselves in the southern part of Africa. They aim to maintain it as a *stronghold of colonialism and anti-communism* and build it up into a *dam against the African liberation movement.* The Zambezi River marks the last line of retreat of colonialism which is to be defended at all costs. To this end the oppressive machinery of the white regimes was perfected, the Portuguese colonial war stepped up, the Rhodesian rebellion staged, and economic, political and military cooperation between Vorster, Smith and Salazar intensified. Main emphasis was on the hectic armament–chiefly with West German aid–of South Africa, for which specific methods of military organisation and tactics were elaborated[13] on the basis of the suggestions made by the former Panzer General and Member of the General Staff in the Hitler Wehrmacht, von Mellenthin, now the military liaison man between Franz Josef Strauss and the Vorster regime. His "Permanent Striking Force in Existence" was officially tested for the first time in summer 1967 and in March this year when the South African "task forces" were transferred with tanks, helicopters and tactical aircraft to Rhodesia for action against African guerrillas.

There is a *second* function the white regimes assume under the imperialist global strategy against the independent African states. They form a *neo-colonialist bridgehead* in the service of world imperialism, which is directed against the independence and social progress of the African countries. Its existence and activity is a permanent menace of aggression and, consequently, a threat to world peace. This second function has two main features:

1. The colonialist African south forms the *base of operations for the military suppression of the African liberation movement* also outside the white bloc, and plays the role of a gendarme of world imperialism chiefly in subequatorial Africa, as was illustrated by the operations of South Africans mercenaries in the Congo when Mellenthin's "commandos" were tested in an unofficial and camouflaged way. As soon as the NATO strategists, the Pentagon or the Bonn Headquarters in the Ermelkeil barracks deem it advisable, a "war by proxy" can be unleashed from there against progressive regimes in Africa.

2. The racialist and colonialist regimes in the south of Africa profit from their bridgehead position to conduct a *subversive policy against the independent African states,* to try to split their united anti-colonialist front, to infiltrate them ideologically and economically, and to corrupt their leaders so as to subjugate them to neo-colonialist rule in some sort of outflanking movement.

Those familiar with the European situation will notice that this "new line" of the South African rulers, their policy of elasticity, adaptation and flexibility, is *completely identical with the subversive tactics of the Bonn Kiesinger/Strauss government against the European socialist countries, known as the "new eastern policy",* as regards its conception, the time of its application, and its different methods and motivations. The intention here is the same, namely to split up the anti-imperialist front by means of a more flexible line supported by an immense amount of propaganda, to corrupt individual countries economically and to infiltrate them ideologically, while others, like the GDR, are to be isolated politically and to be laid open to an frontal attack in a local war. This identity is another hint at the organised cooperation and mutual support arranged by the political leaders in Bonn and Pretoria. Just as the West German "new eastern policy" is a continuation of the aggressive imperialist line of the Bonn government with new methods, the Vorster regime's "new northern policy" does not involve any change in the system of apartheid or in the efforts to restore colonialism all over Africa.

The two components of this function of minority rule in Southern Africa within the global strategy of imperialism present a striking parallel with *Israel's* function as an imperialist bridgehead. This is true not only for Israel's role as a basis of military aggression against the *Arab* states, but also for its role as a relay station of imperialism for the economic and ideological infiltration of the *African* states[14], a role which is less evident, but just as dangerous. The increased political, economic and military cooperation between South Africa and Israel, which became known recently, hardly came as a surprise therefore. Under the imperialist global strategy the two neo-colonialist bridgeheads formed by Israel and the white African south are the two jaws of a great strategic pincer movement, by which the aspirations for national independence, democracy and social progress in Africa are to be crushed.

Finally, mention must be made of a *third* function of the white regimes in Southern Africa under the imperialist global strategy. I refer to their role in the aggressive system of imperialist bases around the world socialist camp. Though far away from the socialist countries, the regimes in Southern Africa find themselves in a boundary position in this system. I should like to explain this function by two quotations. In 1966 Mr. Mennon Williams, the U.S. Undersecretary of State for African Affairs, wrote: "South Africa's position on the sea route around the Cape of Good Hope gives to its ports a high logistic value for the U.S. Navy, mainly for the support of its Atlantic Fleet on its way to and from Vietnam. If the Mediterranean route were barred one day, the importance of the Cape route would become even greater."[15] In the meantime the Suez Canal has been closed as a result of Israel's aggression. The upshot is that South Africa's weigt has grown not only in terms of transport economy, but that its strategic position is now rated much higher by imperialism. The West German paper "Industrie-Kurier" said: "South Africa's long sea coast and its good ports... give this bulwark of the West at the southern tip of Africa a particular and evergrowing importance for the defence of the Indian ocean. Since England has begun to give up her "east of Suez" commitments, the security strategists of the western world have faced the risk of a vacuum of forces in the Indian ocean. In the same measure their interest in South Africa has been growing, particularly in the little military port of Simonstown, which is jointly used by South Africa and Great Britain under a special agreement... The long distances between Africa and Australia cannot be controlled by air force ground bases. A navy base like Simonstown is therefore of major importance..."[16] This

13 Das Bündnis Bonn-Pretoria (The Alliance Bonn-Pretoria). Memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR, Berlin 1967, pp. 88/89

14 The Neo-Colonialism of the West German Federal Republic. A Documentation, published by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in the GDR, Dresden 1965, pp. 65 to 75

15 The Department of State Bulletin, Washington, No. 1395 21 March 1966

16 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 23 July 1966

description requires no comment, nor do the terms 'defence', 'security' and 'vacuum of forces' as used by an imperialist propagandist.

All this shows the extent of the services the racialist and colonialist regimes in the African south render to world imperialism. But the relationship of the two partners is by no means one-sided, because, as I stated early in my report, the *support given by world imperialism is the condition for the very existence of white minority rule in Southern Africa.* This support is so extensive, given on so many levels and so varied in its forms that it is not even possible to give de detailed outline here.

West German imperialism, the Bonn government and the big West German banks and industrial concerns play a very active and effective role in buttressing the colonialist stronghold in the African south. Allow me therefore to deal in detail with some aspects of this role.

Being itself the main bulwark of anti-communism and reaction in Europe, official Bonn regards the white rulers in Southern Africa as its natural allies and friends. Back in 1957 Bonn's ambassador to South Africa, Herr Gustav Strohm, a colonial expert in Hitler's nazi party, stated: "The international interests of our two countries are running parallel and are mutually supported. South Africa is firmly rooted in the western world rejecting communism as categorically and vigorously as we do."[17] Herr Richard Jäger, Vice-president of the Bundestag, bore this out with regard to the Salazar regime when he declared in Mozambique: "Portugal and (West) Germany have moreover a special reason for agreement: the joint fight against communism."[18] None of the western politicians has so openly manifested friendship and sympathy for the racialists and colonialists in Southern Africa as the leading West German statesmen have been doing. Adenauer was the first back in 1954 when he said about South Africa: „We hope sincerely that we shall jointly succeed ... in strengthening the existing bonds of honest friendship."[19] The next Federal Chancellor, Herr Erhard, made the following addition: "(West) Germany and South Africa are animated by much the same spirit."[20] Federal President Lübke, whom I quoted earlier, was next to sing the praises of apartheid as did all Bonn ministers who visited South Africa: Strauss, Lücke and Seebohm. SPD Minister Brandt, in his turn, only recently rejected any measure of boycott against South Africa. The same attitude has been shown towards Portuguese colonialism. Erhard labelled Portugal "one of the most trustworthy countries"[21], Herr Gerstenmaier, President of the Bundestag, and Herr Jäger, his deputy, glorified Portuguese colonial rule after touring Angola and Mozambique. Federal Chancellor Kiesinger and ministers Strauss and von Hassel are regular guests of Antonio Salazar. That portion of the West German press which backs the government has indulged for years in a propaganda campaign for the white regimes. "South Africa–a paradise for investments" said a publicity headline in the paper "Industriekurier".[22] Another paper, "Die Welt" proclaimed: "Nowhere else are the coloured better off than in South Africa."[23] We can read there that "the 'police state' of South Africa exists only in the utterly biased imagination of some racial theorists"[24], and we learn that the torture chambers of the South African fascists are part of a "model system for the execution of sentences".[25] Vorster did not fail to express his official thanks by emphasising that "we have maintained good relations with the Bonn government throughout the last years. There is no reason for us not to further extend these very cordial relations."[26]

The Bonn state is, as everybody knows, also the stronghold of neo-nazism in Europe. Its government agencies up to the functions of the Federal Chancellor and the Federal President are interspersed with active supporters of Hitler. At home it encourages the development of a new fascism within the party in power, the CDU/CSU, and in the form of the NPD, and naturally also in places where neo-nazism is already established as in the white regimes of Southern Africa. As neo-nazism is growing in West Germany, the NPD gaining in strength and the CDU/CSU backing this process, the demands of the right-wing extremists are multiplying to give development aid not to independent African states but to the racists in Southern Africa. Thus the particularly close alliance between Bonn and the white bloc in Southern Africa results also from common ideological sources and historical roots. It is therefore a matter of consequence and at the same time quite characteristic of this relationship that almost all West German ambassadors to South Africa were active and often prominent functionaries of the Hitlerite Nazi party (Strohm, Granow, Overbeck and Junker). Recently a new ambassador has quietly been appointed under the direction of the Social Democratic Foreign Minister Willy Brandt. Whom does the Social Democrat Brandt send to Pretoria? A Social Democrat? *He* would hardly have the correct connections and the required image. Brandt sends a prominent old nazi with much experience in the Bonn neo-colonialist policy: Dr. Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol. This Ministerial Director, having served for a long time in the West German Ministry of Development Aid, qualified under Hitler for his function in Pretoria when he was Untersturmführer of the SS, liaison man between the Nazi Foreign Ministry and the extermination headquarters of the SS, the Reich Security Head Office, and finally head of the murder department "Inland II" of these headquarters. His experience will undoubtedly be welcome in Pretoria.

West Germany is the second strongest imperialist industrial power and is characterized by a sharp contradiction between her internal economic potential and her external spheres of influence. Because of this her monopolies make use of every opportunity to contribute to the weakening of this contradiction by forced economic expansion. According to the political fundamental concept, they are also leading in economic support of the white regimes in Southern Africa. From 1960–when the boycott movement against South Africa started–to 1967, West German foreign trade with South Africa almost trebled despite all sanctions imposed by the UNO and the OAU. And it is not a matter of small sums! Whereas, for example, the GDR and the other socialist countries completely stopped their trade with South Africa, West

17 Afrika – heute. (Africa today) Yearbook of the (West) German Africa Society, Cologne, 1957, p. 52

18 DPA, Hamburg, 10 September 1963

19 Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Bonn, 12 January 1954

20 Afrika – Post, Pretoria, December 1956, p. 6

21 Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 June 1961

22 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf 29 and 30 March 1964

23 Die Welt, Hamburg, 24 June 1964

24 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 29 and 30 March 1964

25 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 3 January 1957

26 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 27 March 1967

German exports doubled from 625 million to 1,251 million marks[27], the supplies as well as the credits being mainly to the benefit of the state-monopoly sector which is the economic mainstay of the apartheid regime. West German imports from South Africa increased even more, namely from a little less than 200 million in 1960 to 1,045 million marks in 1967[28]. The markets lost by South Africa in countries that joined the embargo, were made up for by West Germany.

Bonn reacted in a similar way to the coup of the Rhodesian ultra-right forces.

The investments of West German monopolies in Southern Africa constitute great support for Vorster, Smith and Salazar. All leading West German trusts have investments in South Africa. At the top are Krupp, Siemens, Klöckner, AEG and Volkswagen. In addition there are the Flick trust, Thyssen and the IG Farben-successors Bayer, Farbwerke Hoechst and Badische Anilin and Soda Fabrik, furthermore DEMAG, Ruhrchemie, Lurgi, Didier-Werke, Schering and many others. The Erich Lübbert group disposing of traditional relations and frequently acting as a mediator, as well as the Otavi Mines and Railways Society controlled by the Deutsche Bank and reactivated by the restitution of its property decreed by Verwoerd in 1962, have particularly distinguished themselves. The total West German direct investments in South Africa amount to no less than 600 million marks. Regarding the iron ore resources of Cassinga, the construction of the railway line to Mocamedes and of the harbour in this town, the Krupp trust has set up an invisible empire in Angola and invested several hundreds of millions of marks.

In Mozambique the Gelsenberg-Benzin AG acquired petroleum concessions[29], and a syndicate under the leadership of Siemens and AEG/Telefunken (to which belong beside French firms Brown-Boverie AG, Mannheim, and Hochtief AG, Essen), undertook the majority of work for the project of the coffer-dam of Cabora-Bassa[30]. Two years ago 2 West German monopolies, amongst them Krupp, MAN, the Rheinstahl-Union and the Didier-Werke, Wiesbaden, were able to participate in the Orange River Project in South Africa.

Credits and loans given by big West German banks to the apartheid regime have meanwhile amounted to 560 million marks. Among these is credit from the state-owned West German bank for development aid, the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (Frankfurt-on-Main), to the tune of 108 million marks. Of the total eight loans three were given during the last three years, a 60 million credit of the Dresdner Bank AG in June 1967 and two credits of the Deutsche Bank AG, 80 million marks in October 1967 and 60 million marks in March 1968. The largest part of this credit was used for a very specific purpose. For the Bonn state is not only the second strongest imperialist industrial power, the stronghold of neo-nazism and the bulwark of anti-communism in Europe, but also the *main troublemaker on this continent, the most aggressive power in Europe,* the policy of which is aimed at the alteration of the political and territorial status quo and against European security. Because of this, its ruling circles are persistently striving for control of atomic weapons, necessitated by their aggressive attitude against the GDR and the other socialist states. They try to prevent the achievement of the non-proliferation treaty by all means, but, on the other hand, in case of their failure, which is most probable, they have already made all preparations to avoid its effects and to get, despite everything, access to nuclear potential. This aim is achieved by their *co-operation in the field of nuclear armament and their military agreement* with Pretoria.

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR has often given ample documentation on the details of this plot. On the one hand it comprises co-operation in the production of rockets and poison gases, co-operation in which West Germany participates by providing experts and handing over licences.[31] The same is true for the construction of jets, in which numerous West German experts take part in the Atlas Aircraft Corporation works.[32] On the other hand, it comprises the joint construction of the South African atomic economy with the aim of producing atomic weapons. The entire programme is camouflaged as the Atom Power programme of the South African Electricity Commission (ESCOM), and is headed by super-banker Herman Joseph Abs and Minister of Finance (formerly Atomic Minister and later War Minister) Franz Josef Strauss on the West German side, and Minister of Finance Nicolas Diederichs on the South African side. West German banks finance this programme, West German trusts, above all Siemens and Krupp, supply the equipment, make the experts available and introduce the process (in this case the Ellweiler process developed in West Germany) for the enrichment of uranium. By the way, West Germany has already for some time been buying from South Africa to build up her stocks of fissionable material.

To realise its aggressive overall plan, West German imperialism strives *for hegemony in Europe.* Strauss traced the path to this aim in his book "Entwurf für Europa" (Design for Europe). Western Europe is to be united and developed to a third force under West German leadership. Based on a home-owned potential of nuclear weapons, the West German revanchists want to win the Second World War even now, and correct its present results.

In the last few months Strauss added a supplementary variant to this conception. In order to realise it, the alliance between Bonn and the racist and colonialist regimes in Southern Africa entered into a new, a third phase.

The *first* phase of this alliance, dating from the direct post-war period to about 1960, was characterized by the restoration of the traditional foundations of co-operation (above all in the economic field); by conveying the experience gained by the German fascists (e.g. by Bonn Secretary of State Globke) in the field of racial legislation and its application in practice mainly in the occupied territories; and finally by rescuing German nazi activists and war criminals. About 2,000 of them found hiding-places in South Africa; in addition to that there are many large landowners, expropriated in the GDR, who resumed their activities in Angola and South West Africa. At present about 70,000 Germans live in Southern Africa.[33]

27 UN, Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1960, p. 492; Wirtschaft und Statistik (Economy and Statistics), published by the Federal Office of Statistics in Wiesbaden, No. 2/1968, p. 108

28 ibid.

29 AP, 8 April 1968

30 Die Welt, Hamburg, 14 March 1968

31 Das Bündnis Bonn-Pretoria (The Alliance Bonn-Pretoria) op. cit. p. 39 to 49

32 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 5 December 1967

33 AP, 30 October 1967

The *second* phase of the alliance was ushered in by the secret military agreement concluded by Strauss and Fouché in Bonn in July 1961. This phase was characterized by the massive economic support given by Bonn to the white regimes in Southern Africa, the increase by leaps and bounds in trade and investments, the supply of arms and equipment for the Portuguese colonial war, as well as close military and nuclear co-operation between Bonn and Pretoria. At the same time the great propaganda campaign for the white-washing of apartheid and colonialism was carried through. Apparently, however, German imperialism no longer considers these methods sufficient.

The *Strauss plan* envisages therefore, in a *third phase, the political integration of the white regimes in Southern Africa into the projected bloc of the West European continent under West German hegemony.* In this connection the contradictions existing between the colonial African South and the Anglo-American camp in the question of the gold market and with regard to Rhodesia, are to be made use of and deepened. In the first stages of the implementation of this plan, the specific role of de Gaulle is to be played up in order to camouflage the actual aims; furthermore, distrust is to be fostered among the anti-imperialist forces by propagating an alleged gold pact between South Africa and the Soviet Union. The new political "North-South Axis" is supposed to have a double task, namely to increase the military and economic value of the imperialist European bloc and to make possible the common neo-colonialist domination of the whole of Africa. The whole plan is carried out under the completely misleading name of "policy of armed neutrality of South Africa".

Strauss' visit to South Africa and Rhodesia in the spring of 1966 marks the beginning of this phase. In those days Strauss spoke for the first time about the idea of the "North-South Axis". He declared: "We Europeans should recognize that there is not only an East-West Axis but also a political North-South Axis. Europe and Africa are dependent on each other, they shield each other strategically and can give each other a great deal."[34] During the subsequent visits of Botha, Diederich and Haak to Bonn (Haak negotiated with Federal Ministers Lücke and Höcherl among other things about the relation of South Africa to the Common Market), and the visits of Krupp, Lücke and Jäger to Pretoria, the plan was finalized. The rapid increase in West German credits for South Africa during the last year was the result. At the closed session of the top-ranking representatives of the trust circles of the two countries, convened by the Federal Association of German Industry at the hotel Petersberg near Bonn, the finishing touches were apparently put to the plan. When the discussion about the gold market and the gold price became more and more critical, Strauss was of the opinion that the time had come to make his plan public. For this purpose he chose the allegedly very respectable newspaper "Christ und Welt" and represented his conception as the line of thinking of South African politicians. The most important theses went as follows: "On the basis of her "British past" and her Commonwealth membership, South Africa has oriented herself for too long towards the Anglo-Saxon world – without the slightest advantages. Today South Africa is a Republic, and by a new orientation towards Europe, towards the countries of origin of the white South Africans (I take the liberty of remarking that France is not such a country of origin, H. S.), she has to break the last fetters of her past. The Europe of de Gaulle wants the withdrawal of the Americans from Europe ... and a settlement with the East, that is to say a framework in which in addition the problem of the reunification of Germany can be solved (again I take the liberty of remarking that 'settlement' and 're-unification' are favourite terms used by Bonn for the softening-up of the socialist world and the conquest of the GDR, H. S.). A South African policy of armed neutrality fits into this framework and acts at the same time as the hinge between Europe and Africa, the continent being at Europe's door-step. By her co-operation with Angola and Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi ... South Africa guarantees security in Southern Africa, a bloc of states which is much bigger than Europe. The link between Europe and Southern Africa contributes to the peaceful (?) development of the remaining (!) part of Africa ... South Africa is possibly prepared to shift her gold sales from London to Paris ... This can contribute to strengthening Europe. By making excessive demands, the Afro-Asian bloc gave rise to more trouble and created problems more than it made a positive contribution. This bloc must therefore be reformed from outside, that means be replaced by a new 'third bloc' in the form of co-operation between Europe and Africa."[35]

So much for the quote. It interprets in a clear way the main ideas of the Strauss plan. Its implementation has begun. It is no coincidence that the transition to the third phase of the alliance between West German imperialism and the white regimes in Southern Africa, occurred almost at the same time as the formation of the so-called grand coalition in Bonn which ushered in a new stage of the expansionist policy of West German imperialism, and the seizure of power by the open Hitlerite collaborators Vorster (as Prime Minister) and Hiemstra (as commander-in-chief of the army) a few weeks earlier in South Africa. Not only was it no coincidence, it was the precondition.

Whether the West German imperialists succeed in achieving the aims of the Strauss plan remains to be seen. *It is, however, certain that this plan constitutes a great danger to the peoples both of Europe and Africa.* We have therefore to consider how its implementation can be prevented by joint actions.

I feel that our survey showed once more that the forces fighting for the liberation of the African South are opposed by a world-wide front of imperialism. This front is not without contradictions. One of its most important supports is West German imperialism. This united front of imperialism can only be counteracted by the unity of all anti-imperialist forces, by the joint action of the socialist states headed by the Soviet Union, the African liberation movement, the independent states of Africa, the working-class movement and all other democratic forces in the capitalist countries. A hard blow at one of the mainstays of the imperialist front would be dealt by consistent rejection of the Bonn pretension to "sole representation" in German and the thwarting of the Hallstein Doctrine by the independent African states. The establishment of normal diplomatic relations with the anti-colonialist, socialist German peace state, the GDR,

34 Die Welt, Hamburg, 11 May 1966

35 Christ und Welt, Stuttgart, 29 December 1967

and the implementation of the legitimate rights of the GDR to full membership in the UNO, UNCTAD and other international organisations, would strengthen the basis of the anti-imperialist united front and be conducive to the struggle for the liberation of the African South. The GDR supports the African liberation movement and leads the struggle against imperialism on German soil; the other German state, the West German Federal Republic, constitutes a leading force in the system of neo-colonialism and of the imperialist global strategy. This is a reality which has to be recognized and from which conclusions have to be drawn. The time has come to do so.

A person dealing with the problems of the African South and being confronted everywhere–whether he likes it or not–with the fact that Bonn acts to the detriment of the interests of Africa, that Bonn ignores the UN decisions and the Human Rights Charter by backing the racist and colonialist regimes in all ways, while the GDR acts according to the spirit and the letter of the UN decisions and proves an active ally of the African peoples; a person who sees all this and sees at the same time that the independent African states maintain normal diplomatic relations with Bonn but not with the GDR, must regard this situation as illogical and incomprehensible. Such a person will also understand that this situation needs to be changed, not least in the interest of the African peoples and their liberation struggle.

The struggle for the liberation of the African South which is inseparably linked with the struggle against all forms of neo-colonialism requires that all plots against the unity of the anti-imperialist forces be repulsed, whether they start from the bourgeois theory of convergency which aims at opposing the rich nations of the North to the poor nations of the South independently of their social nature and their class character, or from the left-sectarian forces which try to lead the national liberation movement to a position of anti-sovietism and adventurism, or from those bourgeois intellectuals in West Germany who think they can buy their right to criticise the Bonn complicity with racism and colonialism by anti-communist slander of the GDR.[36]

When in 1964 in the discussion about his book "La Contre-révolution en Afrique", Jean Ziegler was reproached with pessimism regarding the prospects of the liberation of the African South, he tried to justify himself by referring to the support given by world imperialism to the white regimes. Even at that time, he was rightly told that the revolutionary force of the peoples is stronger than the power of imperialism.[37] That statement is all the more valid if one succeeds in bringing about the consolidation of unity of all anti-imperialist forces. On the day when this is achieved, the time will have come for the liberation of the peoples in Southern Africa.

36 See: Kap ohne Hoffnung (Cape without Hope), Hamburg 1965, pp. 7 and 91
37 Démocratie nouvelle, Paris, No. 7/8–1964, p. 15 & foll.

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The Southern African Bloc of Colonialists and Racialists – A Menace to the Peoples of Africa

I

The process of the elimination of the system of imperialism in the modern world is coming to an end. The political map of the African continent has changed in the shortest historical period. Instead of a multitude of colonies and dependent territories, bearing the colours of European metropolises, we now see almost four dozens of states, which have resolutely done away with the political rule of imperialists.

The attainment of national statehood by a majority of African countries, which were colonies only yesterday, can hardly be overestimated. It is a great victory of African peoples despite the fact that the countries which have obtained political independence will have to go a long way to win political independence, to change the old pattern under which they are relegated to the role of mere agrarian and raw materials appendages of the leading imperialist powers and serve as a source of enrichment for foreign monopolies which used to rule there. This struggle has already been started by the peoples of many newly-independent countries of Africa, who are aware of the fact that the political independence, which they have won, will be unstable and become a fiction, unless their entire social and economic life is changed. To achieve this, however, a complicated and hard struggle will have to be waged, since the imperialist powers backed by monopoly capital do not intend to give up their privileges in African countries of their own accord.

Speaking of the successes of national liberation movements throughout the world, including Africa, of the problems facing newly-independent countries, we should not forget that colonialism and racialism still dominate vast areas of Africa. 14 per cent of the territory and 6 per cent of the population of Africa are under the rule of colonial and racialist regimes. 20 million people are still subjected to all the horrors of colonial and racial subjugation and cruel exploitation. In Southern Africa there still exists a solid tract of territories and states whose native population cannot be called free by any measure. It includes Rhodesia, the self-governing British colony where the white minority declared so-called "independence" in order to preserve its domination, Mozambique and Angola, colonies of fascist Portugal, Swaziland, British protectorate, illegaly seized by the Republic of South Africa and actually turned by it into a colony under the name of South West Africa. A special place in the system of colonial and racial regimes here is occupied by the Republic of South Africa itself (R.S.A.), a country which can rightfully be called a stronghold of racialism and colonialism in the entire African continent.

Speaking of colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa, of the devilish alliance of colonial and racialist regimes, we also have in mind other Portuguese colonial possessions in Africa, for example, "Portuguese" Guinea.

At a time when colonialism has been mainly eliminated in Asia and Africa, at a time when the strongest colonial metropolises–Britain and France–have lost their colonies

in Africa, Portugal keeps her grip on huge colonial possessions in Africa. One of the reasons of this historical anomaly is that Portuguese colonialists have formed a military and political alliance with the racialist regimes of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia. This alliance or "a bloc of white states", as it is frequently refered to, came into existence as a way of colonialists and racialists responding to the demand of African peoples to give them independence, of countering the rising tide of the national liberation movement in the continent. The bloc of white states is an alliance of colonialist and racialist regimes doomed by history. This alliance has no international legal ground and brings to mind human rights criminals covering up each other's tracks.

The leading part in this alliance is played by the R.S.A. where the white population has formed large and well-organised reactionary forces. The R.S.A. possesses the biggest in Africa and rather diversified economic and military potential, which is used as a material basis on which this alliance leans in its criminal plans.

The main purposes of this grouping are to stifle the national liberation struggle and democratic movements of African peoples, to preserve the racialist and colonial rule, to support and encourage all anti-democratic, pro-imperialist forces in newly-independent countries in order to turn them into spheres of imperialist expansion. To achieve these goals, Southern African racialists and Portuguese colonialists in association with international imperialism are engaged in secret subversion, design strategic plans of waging wars against African nations, political and military treaties with other imperialist powers, send bands of mercenaries and so on. The struggle waged by racialists and colonialists against the independent countries of Africa, as was rightfully pointed out by President of Zambia Kenneth Kaunda in his address to the participants in the World seminar on apartheid, is increasingly taking on not only the form of psychological warfare but various forms of diversion, sabotage and spying.

The root cause of the present extremely acute political and national problems facing Southern Africa is the seizure of power by the white minority in the R.S.A. and Rhodesia and the complete removal from political and social life of the native population–Africans–in these countries, on the one hand, and the continued colonial rule of Portugal over the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea, on the other.

In Southern Africa the continued colonial rule is linked with the intensification of white racialism, and the racial rule strengthens colonialism. It is common knowledge that the colonial policy pursued by Salazar in Africa is to accelerate the migration of Portuguese population to Portuguese colonial possessions and turn them into settlers' colonies of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia type. Already now the white settler population of Angola and Mozambique is second only to that of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia. It is fairly easy to see that Salazar' policy is aimed at setting up new racialist regimes to replace the former colonial possessions. The idea of separating colonies from Portugal with the white minority domination is no longer kept a secret. Incidentally, this policy is carried on with the blessing and direct support of the imperialist powers. That is the heart of the conspiracy of international imperialism against the free Africa. It is this racialist strategy that brings Salazar's Portugal and the present racialist regimes in the R.S.A. and Rhodesia closer together. The rule of the white racialist regimes in the R.S.A. and Rhodesia, in turn, have made the native population of these countries colonial slaves. The economic expansion of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia has a tendency of spreading to the other African countries. Already now a number of African countries are drawn into the R.S.A. economic system.

Such are, in our view, objective prerequisites for the existence of an alliance of the South Africa and Rhodesian racialists, on the one hand, and Portuguese colonialists, on the other. The common fate of colonial and racialist regimes, the common views of the modern international problems held by ruling circles of these countries have lead to the establishment of a military and political bloc of white states in Southern Africa, which also cements the present economic ties of members of the "unholy alliance". Portuguese colonies annually supply millions and millions of migration workers for the R.S.A.'s mining industry and agriculture. In turn, the R.S.A. supplies Portuguese colonies with industrial products. An economic unit has, thus, been formed in Southern Africa.

It is natural for the parties to this bloc to conceal carefully from the world public secret subversion against the independent countries of Africa and the very fact of the existence of this bloc. Official representatives of the R.S.A. and Rhodesian racialist regimes as well as high-ranking Portuguese officials frequently make statements in which they, as a rule, strongly deny the existence of such a secret collusion of their governments. Every now and then, however, they inadvertently admit the fact. Thus, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith in an interview given to the American *United States News & World Report* in November 1965, pointed out that the union of Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese possessions of Angola and Mozambique was natural and feasible and not only in the economic but in the political field, as well. Two years later, early in October 1967, the R.S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hilgard Muller, stated at the UN General Assembly session in New York that the participation of South African police in operations against freedom-fighters in Rhodesia was based on an alleged "mutual defence agreement", signed by the two countries of Southern Africa.

The actual state of affairs also confirms the existence of such an agreement or, what is more likely, a series of such agreements. Numerous reports point to comprehensive diplomatic, economic and military mutual assistance exchanged by Portugal and the racialist regimes of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia, the parties to this bloc concerting their actions in applying common strategy and tactics to suppress the forces of national liberation movements. Suffice it to recall such facts, which were highlighted in the press, as measures taken by the R.S.A. and Portuguese governments to support the Rhodesian rebels, the participation of South African police forces in punitive operations against patriots in the Rhodesian territory, the building in the northern part of South West Africa of camps and air-fields, which can, if necessary, be used to suppress guerrilla fighting in the territories of the members of the bloc, as well as to carry on military operations against the neighbouring independent states, and many other things.

It is quite understandable that the peoples of the independent African states, who until very recently were heavily subjected to colonial and national oppression,

deeply hate those who have conquered their brothers in the southern part of the continent. So long as the independent Africa exists, it will be impossible to quell the movement of national liberation in the territory of the racialist and colonial regimes. That is why the bloc of colonialist and racialist states is now waging a two-front battle against the resistance movement at home and against the independent states of Africa, which actively side with the native population of the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia and Portuguese colonies. Economic means are assigned an important role to play in this offensive against the independent countries of Africa. All African peoples, regardless of the regimes that exist in their countries, are united in their desire to see all Africa free from colonialism and racialism. The struggle against the South African and Rhodesian reactionaries does not cease for a single day. Depending on specific conditions and possibilities, this struggle takes on different forms either of exposing the colonialists and racialists from the UN rostrum, of boycotting South African goods, of giving material support to freedom-fighters in the R.S.A., Rhodesia and Portuguese colonies or something else.

Facts indicate that the independent African states are advocating more and more strongly the strictest possible sanctions to be applied against colonialists ad racialists. The conference of leaders of 12 countries of East and Central Africa that was held at the end of last year in Kampala, Uganda, discussed, among other things, the strategy of African countries which could ensure the necessary guarantees from encroachments upon their sovereignty and territorial integrity and make it possible to finally remove from the continent the last seats of colonialism and racialism.

We are not familiar with specific decisions of that conference but, in our view, revolutionary forces inside all countries under the racial and colonial opression should take measures to coordinate mutually their efforts and treat all the ruling regimes of the bloc as a common enemy. This will help concentrate great efforts in one direction. At present we stand witness to the fact that South African patriots are fighting side by side with the patriots of Zimbabwe against the Smith regime.

Confronted by a strong and perfidious enemy, all national liberation forces should exert maximum efforts to overcome the split in the national liberation movement. Any split means weaker national liberation movements and stronger enemy positions. The O.A.U. is designed to play a great part in this respect.

At the XII session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee whose main goal is to work out specific measures to ensure the final liberation of Africa from colonialism and racialism, held in Konakry, Guinea, Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity Diallo Telli urged the leaders of the independent African states to do all they can to ensure that 1968 became the year of the final liberation of Africa from colonialists and racialists.

At the same time it should be noted that President of Guinea Sekou Toure was right when he referred to the need of a greater unity and cohesion of the countries of Africa, pointing out that some of the African governments were not active enough in fighting the racialists of the R.S.A., the Smith and Salazar regimes. Unfortunately, some African countries have not yet fully broken off their trade relations with the R.S.A. and Rhodesia.

The tasks of intensifying the struggle against racialism and colonialism demand that all independent countries of Africa act in a common front against colonialists and racialists, since the seat of racialism and colonialism in Southern Africa, undoubtedly, poses a serious threat to all the independent African states, no matter in what part of the continent they may be. It is also fraught with danger to the cause of maintaining peace throughout the world. At the Consultative meeting of representatives of Communist and workers' parties held in Budapest the representatives of the South African Communist Party said that the struggle going on in Southern Africa "against the fascist regime, imposing racial discrimination, supported by world imperialism, is of exclusively great importance from the point of view of the future of Africa and maintenance of world peace".

To mislead the world public, to split the unity of African and all other progressive forces, opposing racialism and colonialism, and to put the existence of this "devilish bloc" in the right with the public, its members spread the lie of an alleged "threat from the north", of a Communist conspiracy and of the need to get ready for "self-defence".

Under the pretext of preparing "self-defence", members of the "unholy alliance" are hurriedly arming themselves, with their armies constantly growing in strength and military expediture swelling. In the R.S.A., for instance, military budget appropriations for the fiscal year 1966/67 amounted to a huge sum of 255 million rands, which is almost 6 times over the corresponding budget appropriations for 1960/61. Large sums of money are spent for buying foreign planes, tanks, armoured cars and other weapons, material and military equipment. Arms production is urgently launced at home enterprises.

Saber-rattling in the countries of the bloc is a constant threat to the independent existence of the liberated nations of the continent. It is worth recalling in this connection the repeated intrusions of Portuguese mercenaries and planes into the territories of neighbouring countries, the shelling of border villages of the two Congoes and Guinea. The constant threats made by the rulers of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia to the independent African states are a cause of serious concern and anxiety. Last October, for instance, Prime Minister Vorster threatened to deliver "a crushing blow" to Zambia, if she continued to help freedom-fighters.[1]

Everybody knows how dangerous it is to play with fire. Therefore, there are no guarantees that similar threats sooner or later will not materialize. The aggressive nature of the Southern African bloc of colonialists and racialists gives rise to fear that any of the neighbouring African countries may fall victim to aggression of the "unholy alliance".

II

Speaking of the danger of the Southern African bloc for all Africa, it is necessary to emphasize the responsibility which lies heavily with the western powers in building up the economic and political potential and supplying the racialist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa with arms. Despite the special resolutions of the UN General Assembly banning any arms and material supplies of

1 Unit of apartheid. Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. *Military and Police Forces in the Republic of South Africa*. United Nations, New York, 1967, p. 1

member states to the R.S.A., Rhodesia and Portugal, the governments and monopolies of western countries covertly and often overtly continue to send arms and other products there. Companies of a number of western countries are responsible for building military plants in the R.S.A. More and more facts are coming to light in an unending stream, testifying to the fact that Portuguese colonialists in fighting patriots in Angola and Mozambique are using weapons made in the U.S., Belgium, West Germany, Israel. Illegal arms supplies to the Vorster and Smith governments also continue. What is significant is the fact that the question of lifting embargo on arms supplies to the South African racialists has been laterly more and more frequently discussed by government circles of Britain and the United States.

The research conducted in the R.S.A. with the assistance of some of the western powers with a view to starting production of means of mass destruction in South Africa causes particularly great concern over the preservation of peace not only in Africa but in the world at large. This is, primarily, the research in the field of fission materials.

The R.S.A. rates second in the world in the discovered deposits of the basic nuclear raw material – uranium. In 1960 the American *Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing of Milwaukee* contracted to build the first pilot nuclear reactor in the R.S.A.[2] Later in 1965 after the reactor was put into operation, it began to play the part of the main centre to conduct experimental research and train South African nuclear research specialists.

All research work with fission materials is conducted by South African scientists in close cooperation with West German experts. The basis for military cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa is an agreement signed during the visit to Bonn of the R.S.A. Defence Minister Fouché and the Commander-in-Chief of the South African armed forces Grobbelaar. Press leaks indicate that the agreement provides, among other things, for joint work on starting production of toxic chemicals (taboun, zoman, zarin, v-gases), rocket missiles (including long-range missiles) and nuclear weapons. West German experts were greatly assisted in building in Johannesburg a pilot plant to produce fission materials necessary for manufacturing A-bombs. Here South African and West German nuclear physicists work in strict secrecy.[3]

The progressive press on many occasions expressed concern over the fact that the starting of manufacturing nuclear weapons in the R.S.A. was that necessary manoeuvre with which the revenge-seeking circles of the Federal Republic sought to get hold of these weapons through the back door, so to speak. There is every ground for such fears.[4]

The support given by the reactionary circles of imperialist powers to the Southern African bloc of colonialists and racialists is explained by the fact that in the military plans of the West a special role is assigned to the "unholy alliance", First, this role is to retain in Africa the stronghold of imperialism, which, if necessary, may used as a force de frappe in fighting the progressive movements in the continent. The racialists and colonialists of Southern Africa, so experienced in imposing police orders in their own countries, may rightfully pretend to the role of a policeman of the entire African continent.

Secondly, it is known that the liberation of African peoples from colonialism and the establishment on the continent of newly-independent states have drastically changed the world's balance of power. Most of the African states right from the time of their inception resolutely stated their neutrality, their reluctance to join any blocs or alliances of military nature. In this context should imperialist unleash a global war, the members of the Southern African bloc of colonialists would be the only reliable allies of imperialists in Africa. That is where the military and strategic importance of colonialist and racialist regimes lies for the imperialist states, getting ready for a world war.

A few years ago the western leading military strategists even put forward a plan of setting up a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO), which would tie up the countries of Southern Africa closer with NATO, supplementing the latter. Gen. Mellentin, a well-known West German who served as an officer on the General Staff of the African Corps of the Hitler army in the last war, wrote in this connection that the conclusion to be drawn by the countries of Southern Africa from the unreliability of young African states in the military field would be to create SATO, consisting of Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola, Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa. He then pointed out that the territories of SATO countries, including Mozambique and Angola as corner pillars, represented a geographically advantageous defence unity. In his view, an allied command should be established, comprising a commander in chief and a mixed staff after the NATO pattern.[5]

III

Racialism, as was pointed out earlier, serves as the ideological and political basis on which "the unholy alliance" was patched up. Although in the R.S.A., Rhodesia and Portuguese colonies racialism manifests itself in different forms and is pursued by different methods, its essence and goals are the same everywhere. In each of these countries the European minority holds political power in its hands and dominates economically, leaning on pseudo-scientific theories of white supremacy.

In Portuguese colonies racialism is somewhat disguised in the form of a so-called "luzo-tropicalism" doctrine. The aim of this doctrine is to justify Portuguese colonialism, to prolong it through the creation of a certain "multi-racial society".

The policy of racial discrimination and segregation pursed in Rhodesia is somewhat different from Portuguese colonialism. The country is noted for a relatively large permanent white population. Among African countries Rhodesia is only second to the Republic of South Africa as to the European population (200,000 people). Political power in the country is usurped by a white minority government, representing the interests of the settler bourgeoise and foreign monopolies. The racialist regime in Rhodesia came into existence as a result of the policy deliberately pursued by British ruling circles to establish in this colony a mastery of European settlers.

2 *State of South Africa*, Year book 1963, Johannesburg, 186

3 To get more detailed information on the cooperation between the FRG and the R.S.A. in the field of settling production of toxic chemicals, missiles and nuclear weapons, see, *Bonn-Pretoria Alliance*. Memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. Dresden, 1967, p.p. 45–52

4 *The African Communist*, 1964, No. 19, p.p. 27–29

5 See, *Bonn-Pretoria Alliance*. Memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, Dresden, 1967, p. 94

In the Republic of South Africa–a citadel of the bloc of white states–the idea of white supremacy is put into practice most bluntly and persistently. Here it has become an official government policy of apartheid, based on a separate development of different races and national groups of the R.S.A., including their settlement in special territories. While denying the native population every human right, apartheid relegates it to the role of a slave, engaged in dirtiest and cheapest work at enterprises belonging to white capitalists.

"Proceeding from our policy, explain South African racialists, we believe that Bantus can stay in the white territory in order to apply their labour. But not to use various privileges, such as civil freedoms, political rights and so on. On this we are as firm as a rock. Even if on this basis the Bantu population will grow, with our policy their presence will pose to us no danger at all."

In an attempt to control this process the R.S.A. government forcefully evicts family Africans from "white areas" to special reserves–"Bantustans", while allowing them to return to "European" regions temporarily without their families as contracted "foreign labour".[6]

In the R.S.A. as in Rhodesia, which assidiously imitates the orders of her neighbour, there exists a special kind of colonialism – South African colonialism. The characteristic feature of this type of colonialism which makes it infinitely unbearable is that the colonialists and the subjugated live within the limits of one and the same territory. As a result, a cruel racial discrimination against the native population. European colonialists were separated from colonial peoples by long distances, whereas South African and Rhodesian colonialists are separated from Africans by the apartheid policy.

The Nationalist Party that has been staying in power in the R.S.A. since 1948 has passed in South African Parliament a multitude of acts, specifying the idea of "keeping the purity of the white race". Among these are such examples of fanaticism as Separate Representation of Voters Act, Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Bantu Education Act and many others. In 1950 a Group Areas Act was adopted enabling the government to declare this or that part of the country an area, where only a specific racial group may live. On the basis of this act nationalists are evacuating the non-European population en mass from many suburbs of major South African cities declared white areas.

The apartheid regime has been strongly denounced throughout the world, as have been condemned the Rhodesian and Portuguese colonialists.

However, the reactionaries of Southern Africa enjoy a strong backing of their fellow-thinkers and allies. Those are the leading imperialist powers such as the United States, Britain, West Germany and others and their monopolies. It's true, in recent years statesmen of these countries, afraid of being discredited in the eyes of African peoples, have been forced to denounce the orders existing in the colonial and racialist countries. This does not prevent them, however, from extending to colonialists and racialists all kinds of aid and support: financial, diplomatic and moral. For instance, at UN General Assembly sessions manoeuverings of western delegations have precluded the adoption of concrete political and economic sanctions that might bring R.S.A. racialists to their senses.

Openly defying UN decisions on economic sanctions, these countries, in particular, continue to expand their trade with the Republic of South Africa. At present, the R.S.A. accounts for 35 per cent of the total US exports to Africa and for 26 per cent of the total value of US imports from African countries. Britain is yet a bigger trade partner of the R.S.A. West Germany and Japan are locked in a bitter struggle to win the third place among imperialist partners of the R.S.A.

While supporting the reactionary regimes of Southern Africa the major imperialist powers, apart from various military and political considerations, are also concerned with the protection of huge capital investments made by monopolies of western countries in the economy of this region.

The southern part of the African continent is extremely rich in natural resources. Here are found large deposits of various minerals such as gold, diamonds, platinum, chromites, manganese, iron, copper, coal and many others. Natural resources coupled with cheap and abundant African labour make this region very attractive for international monopolies. As to the volume and cost of mined minerals, a particular place among the countries of Southern Africa is occupied by the Republic of South Afrika, which accounts for over 40 per cent of the total value of mining products of the entire African continent. Nowadays monopolies, that rooted themselves in Southern Africa, have become gigantic amalgamated companies not only engaged in exploiting mineral deposits but having strong positions in other industries, such as the processing industry, farming, financing and so on. Some of them, for example, *Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa* of the Oppenheimers, are, in fact, vast industrial and financial empires controlling dozens and dozens of various companies. Monopolies have widely extended geographical boundaries of their activities, having entangled in the web of their interests practically every country of Southern Africa.

The economic development of Southern Africa has always depended on the capital inflow from abroad. As to the volume of capital invested in this region, it by far exceeds any other part of the continent. Foreign investments in the R.S.A. alone were estimated at the end of 1965 at over 4,800 million dollars, of which almost three fifths are British investments. At present, over 300 British companies are engaged in business activities in the R.S.A. They are all plundering natural resources of the country so rich in gold, diamonds, non-ferrous metals, rare and radioactive metals, enjoying unlimited opportunities of exploiting cheap labour of Africans.

In the post-war years British capital was forced to retreat from some of its positions in this region, giving way to American monopoly capital, which showed a great interest in South African gold, uranium, copper and managed to penetrate many branches of the processing industry such as oil refining, automobile assembly and so on. American investments account for 12 per cent of the total volume of foreign investments in the R.S.A.[7] In recent years the countries of Southern Africa, primarily the R.S.A., Rhodesia and the Portuguese colony of Angola, have seen growing activities of West German businessmen.

6 Debate in the R.S.A. House of Assembly, May 7, 1965, column 5571. Quoted from the UN Report A/5997 of August 16, 1965. (The Report of the Committee of 24 to the 20th UN General Assembly session), p.p. 84, 85

7 UN Secretariat document, *Foreign investments in the Republic of South Africa*, A/AC. 115/L. 56/Rev. 3, 2 March 1967, p. 2

Huge profits derived from capital invested in the countries of Southern Africa are a magnet that draws interests of foreign businessmen to this region of Africa. Great popularity among businessmen of London, New York and other financial centres of the West is enjoyed by so-called "kaffir" shares (shares of gold mining companies) as well as securities of other Southern African mining and industrial enterprises so extremely profitable they are. Cruel exploitation of the native population, who makes the majority of the labour force in any industry of Southern African countries, brings foreign investors really fabulous profits.

The activities of foreign capital and monopolies are encouraged in every way by both racialist rulers of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia and by the Portuguese colonial administration. Actually, all racist laws, passed by reactionary regimes of Southern Africa, pursue, in the long run, one and the same goal namely, to boost profits of the local European and foreign bourgeoisie, which took over the economy of Southern Africa, by creating conditions to make it easier for entrepreneurs to get enough cheap labour and to enable them with government assistance to exploit non-European workers. The state and judicial bodies, as well as the army, police and other institutions are engaged in passing these laws for the sake of enriching a handful of entrepreneurs.

Economic policies of the racialist and colonialist regimes contribute in no small measure to growing profits received by monopoly capital in the countries of Southern Africa. The substance of this policy is to create conditions most favourable for monopolies to exploit natural resources of these countries. Of these measures particular mention should be made of large investments made in the infrastructure (transport, the power industry and so on) at the expense of budget appropriations, tax privileges granted to companies, permission given to foreign businessmen to transfer freely their profits, and others.

Monopolies are, naturally, interested in preserving and supporting such regimes, which create for them an extremely favourable "investment" climate. In this connection it would be fairy safe to say that the domination of monopoly capital, particularly foreign, is one of the major obstacles on the road of peoples of the countries of Southern Africa to independence. It is not by chance that this fact was noted in a number of decisions taken by the latest UN General Assembly sessions on such countries as Rhodesia, South West Africa and Portuguese colonies.

Foreign capital, as we can see, has very deep-seated roots in Southern Africa as a result of which a significant part of wealth, produced by native inhabitants has been and is still exported abroad. However, this process is accompanied by the growth of the local bourgeoisie from among local European settlers.

The local bourgeoisie, which on the whole acts as an agent and accomplice of Western monopoly capital in the field of exploitation of human and natural resources of Southern Africa, harbours its own imperialistic aspirations. V. I. Lenin's description of local imperialism with all its inherent features such as nationalism, aggressiveness and so on is fully applicable to it. The neighbouring African countries are the prime object of the aggressive designs of the R.S.A. and Rhodesian European bourgeoisie. South West Africa has already fallen victim to the South African racialists, who directly annexed it and turned into an actual colony of the R.S.A. The R.S.A. bourgeoisie has been for a long time engaged in a behind the scenes struggle also for taking over the former British protectorates of Basutoland (now Lesoto), Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Swaziland. Economically, these countries have for long been fully dependent on their powerful neighbour. Rhodesia, Malavia, the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola and others are used by the South African bourgeoisie for making investments and marketing large quantities of agricultural and industrial products.

The Rhodesian settler bourgeoisie also has similar expansionist desires. For instance, the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which existed from 1954 to 1964, was an attempt to turn Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) into economic appendages of Southern Rhodesia.

Neo-colonialist desires of the R.S.A. bourgeoisie have lately grown particularly strong. After Prime Minister Vorster came to power, ruling circles of that country openly declared a "new course" in policy towards the independent countries of Africa. A special stress is laid on the fact that the Republic is allegedly capable of making a great contribution to the economic and technical development of Africa and promoting the improvement of living standards of Africans. This sort of bait is designed to undermine the unity of African countries and, thus, to create a sort of "cordon sanitaire" north of the R.S.A. and Rhodesia, composed of friendly independent countries. The R.S.A. penetration in the neighbouring territories of Africa has either already taken place or is to take place in the near future. In either case to achieve economic enslavement of African countries, the R.S.A. racialists are planning to lean on the rightest elements in the national liberation movements in most of the independent countries.

IV

The Southern African bloc of racialists and colonialists is a great menace to the independent African countries, primarily, because it leans on the support of world imperialism and reactionary forces in a number of western countries. The colonial and racialist regimes in Southern Africa have been assigned the role of footholds spearheaded against the national liberation movement in Africa and, first of all, against socialist-oriented countries in the plans of world imperialism. Ruling circles of major imperialist powers, such as the US, Britain, West Germany and others, which have chosen to protect and defend these regimes are interested in maintaining and cementing the bloc of racialists and colonialists in the Southern part of Africa.

The danger that the imperialist powers may give world-wide support to the racialist regimes stems not only from their economic interests but also from the fact that the ruling circles of those countries also adhere to racialist doctrines and the practice of "apartheid". American racialists-members of the Ku-Klux-Klan and John Birch society as well as West German neo-fascists-members of the National Democratic Party are open allies and agents of the racialist regimes. Devotees to racialist theories gather at international congresses to work out a common programme of action and to coordinate their efforts.

Racialist propaganda, fanning out of racial intolerance and, moreover, the existence of racialist regimes represent the greatest danger to world peace. Racial conflicts

in Southern Africa may spread to other parts of the world.

Those are some of the facts of the existence, purposes and activities of the Southern African bloc of colonialists and racialists. We have tried to depict the danger, which the existence of this bloc presents to the independent countries of Africa, to the preservation of world peace. At present, the problem of the final elimination of colonialism in Africa is directly linked with the elimination of racialism and racialist regimes, with stepping up the anti-imperialist struggle.

To eradicate colonialism and racialism in Southern Africa is the major task facing all independent African countries and so long as the racialist and colonial regimes in the African continent are not finally done away with, the independence of Africa will remain incomplete.

The national liberation movement of African peoples opposed to colonial and racialist regimes has on its side all the revolutionary and democratic forces of the modern world and, primarily, the socialist commonwealth and the world communist and workers' movement, which are actively opposed to imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is shot through with the spirit of internationalism and genuine democracy, since it is based on the Leninist principles of struggle for peace and international security, principles of freedom and equality of all peoples, friendship and cooperation among nations.

Together with other socialist countries the Soviet Union sponsored the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, as well as the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have broken all relations with the colonial and racialist regimes in Southern Africa and have been persistently advocating the application of mandatory international sanctions against them, providing moral, political and economic support to the revolutionary forces that are struggling for their independence and self-determination.

The peoples of the world have condemned and opposed not only the racialist and colonial regimes in Africa but also governments, which support these regimes and, thus, defy all Africa, UN authority, all progressive mankind.

The attitude to racialism and colonialism, to colonial and racist regimes in Southern Africa divide all countries of the world into friends and enemies of African peoples. It is impossible to be a genuine friend of African nations, while defending the policy of racialism and colonialism, maintaining economic and political ties with the racialist regimes of the R.S.A., Rhodesia and Portugal.

D. NOKWE (ANC)

The Struggle for National Liberation in South Africa

For centuries the continent of Africa has been subjected to colonization and most brutal aggression. Prominent among these aggressors were Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Holland, Germany, the USA and Italy. We may distinguish various periods: namely, slave trading (which robbed Africa of millions of people), mercantile capitalist colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The chief characteristic has always been rapacious robbery of the human and material resources of Africa, cold-blooded massacre of the people, and complete disregard for their human rights and dignity. This system left Africa with a heritage of poverty, disease and ignorance.

In some parts of Africa the system based itself on a settled European community which dominated the state and the economic, social and cultural life.

In Southern Africa, the national liberation movements each developed primarily towards unification of the oppressed African peoples, to struggle against white racism and neo-colonialism by methods originally purely political and eventually military. It was the realities of the situation that compelled these organizations to embark on armed struggle.

In this contribution to the conference, we shall concentrate on the development of the national liberation movement in South Africa in its struggle against racism, fascism and imperialism, in its driving forces and the unification of the masses of the people into a resistance and revolutionary movement aiming at a complete national and social revolution.

1. *The Historical Background*

It was the historical fate of the peoples of Southern Africa to experience European colonialism under the most unproductive and barbarous elements of West Europe: the adventurers of feudal Portugal and the Netherlands, mercantile capitalists represented by the Dutch East India Company.

The African peoples of Southern Africa had evolved stable societies based on animal husbandry and agriculture. Handicrafts had been developed, and in Zimbabwe and what is now the Transvaal an African mining industry had been developed. Private ownership of land was unknown. The economy was of a subsistence character, without money or other medium of exchange. There were no acute or antagonistic class divisions. The Chiefs were assisted in legislative and administrative duties by general meetings of the people – common to traditional South African cultures.

The appearance of the Portuguese and Dutch prevented the evolution of these societies and subjected them to untold calamities. On Africa's south-west coast, the Portuguese slavetraders created havoc. Between 1486 and 1641 they took from Angola alone an average of about 9,000 slaves a year[1]. In the 18th Century this traffic increased to an average of 25,000 a year.

The Dutch East India Company has aptly been described as "a typical creation of mercantile capitalism . . . a ferocious plunderer which only destroyed and never built"[2]. In 1652, the Company set up a "refreshment station" in Cape Town under Jan van Riebeeck, for the Company's ships plying from Holland to Java and other colonies. The Dutch settlers brought to the Cape at this time had, to start with, no land or cattle. They acquired them by a simple process of aggression and robbery from

1 Basil Davidson, "African Awakening"
2 H. Lawson in 'Liberation', No. 16 (Johannesburg 16. 2. 56)

the African people in the western Cape, taking advantage of the fact that these peacable Africans "constantly come to us without weapons", as van Riebeeck himself put it[3]. Not only did the settlers deprive them of their land and their cattle, they enslaved them to work on their lands and seized their womenfolk. This process continued throughout the 18th Century. A hundred years of Company rule virtually destroyed the once-flourishing Khoisan communities around Table Bay in the Western Cape. In addition to its genocidal wars against the Khoisan people and its seizing of the great herds of cattle and the land, the Dutch East India Company also introduced chattel slavery at the Cape.

Over the years there developed a steady infiltration of the Boers (farmers), formerly of the Dutch East India Company, into the interior of the country. Their farming methods rapidly exhausted the soil, and armed parties of them were continually moving east and north in marauding cattle raids against the indigenous peoples. It is sometimes sought to present these movements of the "Trek Boers" as if they were some sort of civilizing mission. Eventually they spread far north and east – a chapter of history glorified by modern ideologists of 'Afrikaner' (Boer) nationalism and the Voortrekkers. It is a theme often taken up by apologists for present-day neo-Nazism as exemplified by the Vorster regime.

But Lawson represents this period more accurately when he writes:

"The trekking movement had begun by the end of the sixteenth century and continued steadily for almost two centuries. Its peculiar character derived from the fact that it was impelled by poverty. This was no confident advance by a rich and expanding economy; it was a furtive, creeping trickle that seemed to transplant its own poverty, ignorance and cultural sterility wherever it went... It brought no economic advance, no civilization, only stagnation and degradation."[4]

Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, the settler colony at the Cape came up against much stronger opposition. In what is now known as the Eastern Cape, dwelt the Xhosa peoples. Their vast herds of cattle and fertile farmlands attracted the greed of the settlers. But the Xhosa were formidable opponents, well organized and with a military tradition. Thus began the long series of acts of aggression and cattle raids against the Xhosa people which white South African historians call the "Kaffir Wars", which lasted for 100 years. It is in fact absurd to describe these cattle raids as "wars". As soon as serious resistance developed, the Boers ran away. Khoisan troops coerced by the colonists were sent out in front by the Boer marauders.

But in 1799 there was a real war. The oppressed Khoisan slaves arose and made common cause with the Xhosas. Writing in 1800, Governor Young stated that "neither the Hottentots nor the Caffers have been the aggressors but the savage and oppressive conduct of the Dutch Boers, more uncivilized even than the others".

In June 1799 a Commando of 300 Boers was defeated at the Sundays River by 150 Xhosa and Khoisan warriors. But by 1802 the cattle thieves were at it again, taking 15,000 cattle that year.

However, the Cape Colony under Dutch rule was never able to conquer the Xhosa people. Nor for that matter did the Boers, despite their European firearms, ever succeed in decisively conquering any African people in South Africa.

Then a far more formidable and destructive power appeared. In 1806 the Cape Colony was taken over for the second time by British imperialists. The sporadic cattle raids of the Dutch colonists were replaced by a huge army of ruthless mercenaries enrolled by Great Britain for the purpose of conducting total war. The British settled large numbers of unemployed English families in the Eastern Cape in 1820, and built forts wherever they went, manned by professional soldiers. Their object was not merely to seize cattle and land, but to destroy the fabric of traditional African society and convert the tribespeople into hired labourers and customers for British manufactures.

The Xhosa resisted fiercely, under such inspiring leaders as the Prophet Makana. In the war of 1818, writes Eddy Roux, "there is no doubt that the whites were the aggressors". They crossed the Colony's boundary, were joined by some followers of the Collaborator Ngqika, and forced Makana and Ndlambe to retreat. After burning all the huts they retired with 23,000 cattle, giving a share to Ngqika. Ndlambe and Makana then attacked Ngqika (who was left without white support) and defeated him utterly. Following the cattle tracks, the Xhosa then crossed the boundary and carried the war into the Colony, advancing in the spirit of a crusade.[5]

In the end, after frightful slaughter of the Xhosa troops, the attack was beaten and Makana himself sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. But the resistance of the Xhosa people under such leaders as Ndlambe, Hintsa and Makana was an epic struggle which long held up the advance of imperialism.

A similar story may be told of the rest of what is now South Africa. In Natal the Zulu people, using the famous battle tactics evolved by the military genius of Shaka and under such leaders as Dingaan, Cetwayo and Bambata, continued to fight for many years against Boer invasions from the north and the British advancing from Port Natal. Countless thousands perished in heroic advances with spears against fortresses armed with rifles and cannon.

In the Transvaal the Pedi, Tswana and other peoples resisted continuous attempts by the Boer Republic to seize their land and cattle. Indeed, the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were continuously in a state of running warfare.

In the mountain fortress of Lesotho, King Moshoeshoe I, an outstanding strategist and founder of the nation, repeatedly repelled onslaughts by the British and Boer forces. He was compelled to cede the areas west of the Caledon River, but the heartland between the Drakensberg and Maluti mountains remained unconquered and has retained a precarious independent existence till today.

For some time the British tolerated the Boers governing the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, even though these Boers were technically "rebels". In 1867, however, huge deposits of diamonds were found in Kimberley. The area was claimed by the British Cape Colony, by the Orange Free State and–with more right–by the Griqua tribe who lived there. However, the British won the legal battle and established control over the

3 See Van Riebeeck's 'Journal'

4 H. Lawson in 'Liberation', No. 17 (Johannesburg March 1956)

5 E. Roux, "Time Longer Than Rope" (Wisconsin University 1964)

diamond fields as part of the Cape Colony. At once there was a rush of capital and immigrants to the country.

From 1877 to 1879 the Battle of Ngcayachibi was fought between the Xhosas and the British. This battle in fact ended the hundred year resistance of the Xhosas. In 1879 similarly the Bapedi under Sekhukhuni were finally defeated. The mighty Zulu armies which had inflicted the biggest humiliation on British forces in the battle of Isanddhlwana in 1878, were finally beaten in the battle of Ulundi in 1879. So that by 1880 all the African peoples in what is now the Republic of South Africa had come under the control of European governments.

In 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand and all the processes of capitalist development were carried forward with fantastic speed. Expropriation of African land; poll taxes; hut and animal taxes; pass laws and labour control proceeded apace.

The gold mines were in the Transvaal Republic which was under the control of the Boers. The British imperialists who had poured millions into the development of the gold mining industry, were determined to wrest the Transvaal from the Boers. A number of pretexts were found to wage war on the Transvaal Republic. Among the most cynical was the British claim that they were waging war on the Boers because of the latter's ill-treatment of Africans.

The British won the war. The Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were overthrown. Under the compromise "Peace of Vereeniging" signed in 1902, the old Boer policy toward the African people was in fact endorsed. The seeds were laid for joint Anglo-Boer oppression of the non-white poeples.

There followed discussions concerning the uniting of all the British colonies, and eventually a South African Convention was called which lay the basis for the formation in 1910 of the Union of South Africa. The non-white people were completely ignored in these negotiations. The African people had no hand whatsoever in the setting up of the state now known as the Republic of South Africa.

The way to the military conquest of Southern Africa had been paved by white traders and missionaries. The tribal structure of African societies was not sufficiently developed to counter the professional soldiers of imperialism. Above all, the various African peoples were disunited and never succeeded in establishing a common front against the invader. Moshoeshoe indeed envisaged the need for such a front, sending emissaries to the leaders of the Xhosa and Zulu peoples and to the famous Coloured leader Adam Kok, who had established an independent republic of Griqualand. But these efforts failed, as indeed they were bound to. The oppressed peoples of South Africa had to pass through the fire of the disintegration of tribal societies, the proletarianization of the masses of the people, and the absorption of modern concepts of national and social liberation, before their unity could find realization in a form which could seriously challenge white imperialist domination.

That form was found in the modern liberation movement headed by the African National Congress, which is supported by the South African Indian Congress, the S. A. Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions, the S. A. Communist Party, plus organizations of women, youth etc. The national liberation movement has developed its own fighting organization–Umkhonto we Sizwe – which is engaged in a life-and-death struggle to free South Africa.

It is with the development, driving forces and aims of this national liberation front that the remaining section of this report will deal.

2. *The African National Congress*

It is significant that the year 1880 which saw the defeat of African military resistance (save for the so-called Bambata rebellion of 1906) also saw the birth of the first African political organization–the Imbumba Yama Afrika (Union of Africans) in the Eastern Cape. In 1884 the African newspaper 'Imvo Zabantsundu', edited by J. T. Jabavu, was established. Other pioneer efforts followed, paralleled by a trend among African churches to break away from the missionaries.

The pioneer African political organizations from the four British colonies met to oppose the Act of Union drawn up in 1909, which proposed that Britain should hand over power to the privileged white minority alone. The meeting, led by African editors, the Rev. Walter Rubusana, J. T. Jabavu and the Rev. John Dube, demanded "full and equal rights" for all in the new Union. A deputation was sent to London to petition the British Parliament–but the demand fell on deaf ears. The British Parliament duly passed the 'South Africa Act of 1910', providing for a Parliament of whites only, elected almost exclusively by whites.

This situation faced the Africans with an urgent need for unity. After two years of hard preparatory work by Pixley Ka Izaka Seme and other professional men, the Founding Conference of the African National Congress (called at first in English the 'Native National Congress') opened in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912, with many Chiefs, clergy, teachers, and people from all walks of life taking part.

The organization was full of dynamic, revolutionary potential. In the words of Seme's opening address, its purpose was "to find ways and means of forming one national union for the purpose of creating national unity and defending our rights and privileges".

The Rev. J. L. Dube was elected first President of Congress, with S. T. Plaatje as Secretary-General.

From its inception the new organization was faced with a struggle of immense importance: the fight against the Native Land Act of 1913–that illuminating expression of the unity of class interest of mine-owners and rich farmers who dominated South Africa. They had their own differences; but they had an insatiable appetite for cheap labour and land. The 1913 Land Act expresses their common drive to satisfy these appetites at the expense of the African people.

The Chamber of Mines had long complained of lack of labour supplies. In 1913 a Government Commission reported that "the scarcity of native labour is due . . . to the fact that the native tribes are . . . primitive pastoral or agricultural communities who possess exceptional facilities for the regular and full supply of their needs . . . The subject of food supplies is thus intimately bound up with the fact that African natives are in possession of large areas of land . . . No considerable change can reasonably be expected . . . until a great modification of these conditions has been brought about". The Com-

mission recommended that "the entire native social system should be attacked with the object of modifying or destroying it". In other words, to force Africans to work on the mines it was essential to alienate them from the land and destroy the fabric of their social and economic systems.

The 1913 Land Act made it illegal for Africans to own or occupy land outside the overcrowded rural areas designated "Native Reserves" (now re-christened by the Nationalist regime as "Bantu Homelands"), comprising less than 13 % of the country.

Tens of thousands of families, unwilling to work as agricultural labourers for white farmers, or unwanted by them, were suddenly turned adrift on the roads; a whole nation turned suddenly into a landless proletariat, wanderers in their own land.

The ANC campaigned vigourously against this vicious law, winning widespread popular response. A substantial sum of money was collected to send yet another deputation to London, for the British had retained a veto on certain legislation affecting Africans (a sop to Labour and Liberal opinion). But the deputation was unsuccessful; most of the shares in the Witwatersrand mines were held by British monopolists and financiers.

Despite all disappointments, the ANC leadership continued to hope the British would rectify its betrayal of the Africans.

In 1913 Congress campaigned against the Land Act, and Congress women in the O.F.S. conducted a militant struggle against the extension of pass laws to women.

The war temporarily interrupted mass activities. At the end of 1917, under the impetus of the economic crisis which hit the African workers hardest, further militant steps were taken. One of the great factors which also, directly and indirectly, played a most important role, was the world-wide revolutionary feeling evoked by the Great Socialist Revolution in Russia.

It was during the first ten days of the Revolution in Russia that members of the ANC executive met the Prime Minister, General Botha, to protest against the proposed Native Administration Bill. General Botha warned the delegation against the International Socialists who were then advocating a strike against the Bill. The President of the ANC, S. M. Makgathe, informed Botha that if the Bill were passed there would in fact be a general strike. The Bill was withdrawn and only ten years later did the ruling class feel strong enough to pass it.

In March 1918 one of the greatest strikes in South African history broke out when 100,000 African workers on the mines refused to work until their demands for higher wages were met.

In 1919 a renewed ANC campaign against pass laws broke out both in the Free State and the Transvaal. Many other mass actions and strikes occured throughout South Africa, often violently put down by the whites.

For a number of years, vigilant and militant struggles were conducted by the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union which had then emerged. At the same time the Communist Party of South Africa was established.

The ANC went through a period of relative recess in the twenties, but it never ceased to function. It represented profound forces of national unity and aspirations, containing within it not only conservative forces but also revolutionary representatives of the working class masses and the youth.

At the 1927 national conference of the ANC there was, writes Mary Benson, "a sharp swing to the left". The new President, James Gumede, attended the militant conference of the League Against Imperialism, and was invited to tour the USSR. He visited Asiatic parts where he saw non-Europeans, some as dark as himself, enjoying the same political and social rights as the whites. Back in Cape Town in 1928 he told a crowded reception in his honour that he had come from "the new Jerusalem". "Your land and yourselves" he told South Africans, "are held in bondage. You must redeem your heritage."[6]

The methods of struggle and tactics of the ANC have always been determined by the concrete situation in which it had to lead the people. From its inception, the ANC rejected white domination and minority government. It has always stood for pan-African unity, participating for example in the very first Pan-Africa Congress. From the start the ANC adopted its own independent national anthem and its own flag, around which it rallied the masses of the people, as opposed to the flag of the ruling group.

In addition to the task of uniting the African people, the ANC has sought the unity of all non-white peoples in South Africa and all persons of whatever colour, creed or ideology, who believe in the destruction of racism in South Africa.

One of the gratest achievements of the liberation movement in South Africa was the establishment of the Congress Alliance. We shall now consider the evolution of the fraternal movements that together with the ANC belong to the Congress Alliance.

3. *The Coloured People*

Centred mainly in the Western Cape, the Coloured community forms a distinct national community in South Africa. Of mixed descent, they speak European languages (English or Afrikaans), but because of their skin colour they are denied most citizenship rights.

One of the earliest political organizations in South Africa was the African Peoples Organization (APO), formed by the Coloured people in the Cape in 1902. Dr. A. Abdurahman, a member of the Cape Town City Council, was elected President in 1905, and continued for many years to head this organization. The late Lionel Forman considered Abdurahman "one of the giants of the liberation movement... It is utterly shameful that no one has yet written his biography".[7]

Certainly in its early years the APO was a militant organization, favouring a united front with the African people and workers unity for the eventual achievement of socialism.

What undermined the APO, however, was its fatal tendency towards alliance with the white bourgeois South African Party (now the United Party), the party of Smuts and the Chamber of Mines.

The virtual collapse of the APO with the death of Dr. Abdurahman in 1940, left a gap in the political life of the Coloured people not adequately filled for many years. Efforts to found new bodies such as the National Liberation League enjoyed important but only temporary success.

6 Mary Benson, "The African Patriots" (Faber & Faber 1963)

7 "Lionel Forman: From His History Notebooks" – S. Forman (Cape Town 1964)

A new revival of militancy and consciousness took place with the establishment of the S. A. Coloured Peoples Congress, closely allied with the ANC and sharing its common programme – the Freedom Charter.

Under the leadership of the CPC the Coloured people re-entered the political field as a formidable force. Mass Coloured participation in the general strikes of the 50s and early 60s shook the South African ruling class, who had held the delusion that the Coloured community could be relied on as an ally against "black revolution".

As with the other organizations of the Congress Alliance, the CPC suffered heavy casualties in the period of repression since 1960. Many of its foremost leaders have been jailed, banned or forced into exile. With public activity virtually precluded by police terror, the CPC is compelled to work mainly underground, where it continues and intensifies its struggle alongside the ANC.

4. *Indian Congress*

In 1860 the white sugar planters of Natal made an agreement with the British Government of India to import from India indentured labourers to work on the plantations. When their term was over many elected to remain in South Africa and by the 1890s they numbered about 80,000 in Natal (compared with 10,000 whites).

But the whites both in Natal and the Transvaal discriminated viciously against the Indian population. A young Indian lawyer, M. K. Gandhi, had come to Natal in 1893 to conduct a law suit. Subjected personally to the insults which affect all persons of colour in South Africa, he found the Indian community in Durban in a ferment about the proposed Indian Disenfranchisement Bill. Wanting to set up an organization, they asked the young Gandhi to lead it. This was his first political experience, but he immediately agreed to found the Natal Indian Congress. It was not until 1914 that Mahatma Gandhi returned to India to head the national liberation movement of his motherland.

Gandhi led a number of famous passive resistance struggles both in Natal and the Transvaal, where the Transvaal Indian Congress was formed to join the NIC in the South African Indian Congress. One of the greatest campaigns began in the Transvaal in 1906 against proposed passes for Indians. The Indians defied en masse; thousands were arrested, and the campaign continued in various forms for many years. An attempt to deport Indians from the Transvaal to Natal was countered by a mass march of Indian defiers across the border in 1913. In sympathy, and in protest against a poll tax, a mass strike of Indian coalminers and other workers took place. The strikers joined the mass march.

Against a worldwide storm of protest and solidarity with the Indians, the S. A. Government had to retreat and withdraw a number of the discriminatory measures imposed against the Indians.

With the departure of Mahatma Gandhi for India, a leadership vacuum was left in the Indian Congress which was not filled for decades. The leadership of the SAIC was taken over by members of the Indian commercial bourgeoisie, bent on negotiating for minor concessions for their class and with little regard for the ever deepening difficulties of the Indian workers and none at all for those of the African masses.

It was not until the advent in the early 40s of the militant and radical group headed by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo in the Transvaal and Dr. G. M. Naicker in Natal, that a completely new orientation took place in the SAIC. They boldly challenged the policy of the bourgeois leaders and proposed a revolutionary alliance of all oppressed people on the principle of equal rights and opportunities. This won the enthusiastic support of the Indians who, after a hard internal struggle, removed the reactionaries from office.

Immediately a new round of passive resistance struggles was begun by the SAIC, as thousands of courageous volunteers defied the new segregation laws and were sent to jail.

On 9 March 1946, Dr. Xuma of the ANC, Dr. Naikker for the NIC and Dr. Dadoo for the TIC, signed the famous "Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact" for the two Congresses to work together for full rights and equal opportunities for all. This was the forerunner of the great Congress alliance which developed in South Africa.

Since then the SAIC has been a firm, unswerving partner in all the great campaigns of the liberation movement. One of the first achievements of the ANC-SAIC Alliance was the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952, in which 10,000 disciplined Congress members were jailed for deliberately flouting apartheid legislation. The campaign was a landmark in Congress history, winning for the movement greater mass support than it ever had and leaving an indelible stamp on the development of the struggle. In addition, as Nelson Mandela pointed out, the Defiance Campaign "pricked the conscience of the European public which became aware in a much more clear manner of the sufferings and disabilities of the African people. It led directly to the formation of the Congress of Democrats. It influenced the formation of the Liberal Party. It also led to discussions on the policies of apartheid at the United Nations–and I think to that extent it was an outstanding success."[8]

5. *White Democrats*

A prevailing atmosphere of intense white chauvinism dominates official politics in South Africa. The ruling Nationalist Party differs only in degree from the "opposition" United Party, which also upholds segregation, police terror and fascist legislation. These two parties hold all the seats in the whites-only Parliament save for the solitary seat held by the Progressive Party. It is only against the background of South African politics that this Party deserves the name "progressive"; for though Mrs. Suzman takes a stand in opposing many aspects of government injustice, her Party advocates a modified franchise for non-whites which would leave political power firmly in the hands of the white minority.

Against such a background, considerable credit is due to that courageous band of white men and women of principle, some of them Communists like Bram Fischer, others earnest Christians like Bishop Huddlestone, who have come out unequivocally for the Congress stand of complete democracy in every field.

In 1953, following the Defiance Campaign, a number of white South Africans approached the ANC to find out how they could aid the movement. As a result the

8 Nelson Mandela, "No Easy Walk To Freedom" (Heinemann 1965)

ANC called a meeting in Johannesburg in which Oliver Tambo, then General Secretary, suggested that an organization be formed to campaign among the white minority, against racialism and in support of the Congress policy.

The result was the Congress of Democrats (Bram Fischer was the first President), which played a full part in the Congress Alliance. It took part in the Congress of the People and fully endorsed the Freedom Charter. It was outlawed in 1962; many of its former leaders and members are in prison today, or have been placed under house arrest, banned or exiled.

6. *Trade Union Movement*

It is impossible to do justice here to the history of the South African labour movement–a stormy story indeed, rich in experiences. We shall content ourselves with some of the main features under two headings: the trade union movement, and the Communist Party.

The trade union movement in South Africa had its origins among immigrant workers, mainly British. The Cape Town branch of the Amalgamated Society of Joiners and Carpenters was established in 1881 as part of the parent organization in Britain, and most early craft unions followed this pattern.

Many militant struggles were fought by these pioneer labour organizations. In 1922 the famous miners' strike (called the "Red Revolt") developed into armed confrontation between Smuts's troops and "workers' commandos" set up by the strike committee to prevent the strike being broken by force.

However, the white labour movement suffered from a fatal weakness which led to its almost complete surrender to the imperialist bourgeoisie. That was its colour prejudice, which has alienated it from the non-white workers (today the great majority of the labour force) and their national liberation movements. As Michael Harmel has pointed out:

"... The white trade unions did not reach out to include Africans in their ranks, or even to assist their organization into separate unions of their own. On the contrary, they often looked upon the African worker as a dangerous competitor who was able to offer labour at a rate far cheaper than their own."[9]

Even the 1922 miners' strike was fought around the issue of preventing the employers from introducing Africans into certain categories of skilled work.

However, from the end of the first world war, the African workers began organizing trade unions of their own. In 1917 the International Socialist League organized the Industrial Workers of Africa, predecessor of the famous ICU, which in 1918 issued the first Marxist pamphlets in the Zulu and Sotho languages.

In the same year, following the famous "bucket strike" of African sanitary workers in Johannesburg, five ANC leaders (N. D. Ngojo, A. Cetyiwe, H. Kraai, D. S. Letanka, L. T. Mvabaza) and three I.S.L. leaders (S. P. Bunting, H. C. Hanscombe, T. P. Tinker) were arrested and charged with incitement to violence.

However, the main drive of African trade unionism in the 20s is bound up with the spectacular rise of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU). The ICU was founded in Cape Town in 1919 among the dock workers. Its founder and first secretary was Clements Kadalie, a Malawian.

Police terror was used against the ICU. 23 Africans were killed when police opened fire at Port Elizabeth in 1920; and five Africans were killed and 24 wounded by police at Bloemfontein a few years later. This terror did not stop the movement. The ICU conducted militant strikes and enrolled members even as far afield as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. At its peak it claimed a quarter of a million members.

However, under the influence of white "liberals", Kadalie decided on a fatal step, the expulsion of the "reds"–i. e. the most hard-working and incorruptible builders of the ICU. Roux writes that Kadalie was not immune to subtle flattery from these humanitarian representatives of the ruling class. "They told him that if only he would get rid of these "reds" ... the Government would tolerate – nay, even recognise – the organization."[10]

He succeeded in carrying through a motion in the Executive (by 6 votes to 5) excluding members of the Communist Party from ICU membership. This began a process of decline in the ICU which ended in its disintegration.

When the African trade union movement was revived in the 30s, it was on the basis of individual unions for different occupations. These were united eventually in the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, established in 1941 at a unity conference presided over by Moses Kotane. The C.N.E.T.U. did great work organizing African workers until 1955, when it merged into the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions, which it helped to form.

One of the greatest achievements of that period was the great African Miners' Strike of 1946, when over 100,000 African mine-workers on the Witwatersrand struck for a week in the face of police terror in which the miners were machine-gunned and bayonetted, suffering hundreds of casualties. The Union President, J. B. Marks, was arrested, together with scores of militants and supporters. It has been said of this strike:

"It was one of those great social events which at once illuminate and accelerate history: brilliantly showing up and hastening the main conflicts which determine social development, pitilessly exposing the hypocricy, cowardice or futility of those who seek to evade those conflicts and stand on the sidelines. The strike destroyed, once and for all, the myth of the State as a "neutral" body ... It spelt the end of the compromising, concession-begging tendencies which had hitherto dominated African politics."[11]

But the militancy of the African trade union was not paralleled in the "recognised" white labour movement, the Trades and Labour Council. The T.L.C. sent a disgraceful cable to the World Federation of Trade Unions (to which it was then affiliated), condemning the African miners and condoning the state brutality.

In 1950 the Nationalist government used the Suppression of Communism Act to "purge" the trade unions, both white and non-white, of all their most militant leaders. By 1954, the right-wing leaders of the T.L.C. were able to dissolve their body, which had been founded by Bill Andrews and other militants 30 years earlier on the basis of a non-racial constitution. In its place,

9 M. Harmel in 'Liberation', No. 16 (Johannesburg Nov. 1954)

10 E. Roux, "Time Longer Than Rope" (Wisconsin University 1964)

11 M. Harmel in 'Liberation', No. 10 (Johannesburg 1954)

the right-wingers set up the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) which barred African workers' organizations.

A section of the former T.L.C. affiliates fought bitterly against these actions as a betrayal of trade union principles. These unions refused to join TUCSA. Instead, they joined with the T.C.N.E.T.U. to found a new body, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, based on non-racial and internationalist principles.

SACTU became the first and only non-racial trade union movement in South Africa to ally itself fully with the national liberation movement. It endorsed the Freedom Charter and became a partner in the Congress Alliance.

As a result it has been bitterly persecuted by the fascist government. The national President, Steven Dlamini, is serving a long-term jail sentence, and all the former officials have been banned, jailed or exiled.

7. *The Communist Party*

In 1915 the S. A. Labour Party, political wing of the white trade union movement, split over the war issue. The left-wing headed by the Party Chairman Bill Andrews, Ivon Jones, S. P. Bunting and others, denounced the war. The right-wing jingoes, however, managed to get a majority at a special conference. The revolutionary section thereupon set up a new organization–the International Socialist League–which campaigned vigourously against the imperialist war.

It did not take long for it to become clear that on many issues the International Socialist League took up positions until then unknown in S. A. political organizations. The League began to turn away from the idea that only European workers could be organized. In 1917 the Industrial Workers of Africa movement was formed under the auspices of the I.S.L. A campaign called "WAR ON WAR" was waged on class lines. Efforts were made to link up with international working-class organizations. When the idea of forming the Communist International was mooted by Lenin, it found a ready response in South Africa. The International Socialist League was among the first workers' groups to affiliate to the Comintern.

Subsequently it was the healthy elements in the Industrial Socialist League and the International Socialist League who came together to form the Communist Party of South Africa on 29 July 1921.

The Executive of the Comintern on which Comrade Ivon Jones represented South Africa, took a great interest in the affairs of South Africa. Very detailed resolutions were adopted. The 1928 Congress of the Comintern in particular considered the position and concluded that the main demand was the establishment in South Africa on an "Independent Native Republic".

At that time, South Africa was still a self-governing colony of Great Britain. In fact what the Comintern was demanding in the parlance of today was the establishment of a Republic under African majority rule.

In the South West Cape and Natal, the Communist Party had made great strides. During 1929 and 1930 big anti-pass campaigns were organized by the C. P. In Potchefstroom a demonstration was held on 16 December 1929, the principal speakers being Edwin Mofutsanyana and J. B. Marks. Groups of white hooligans broke up the meeting when they fired shots at the speakers, killing one African and injuring six. The following year bigger demonstrations were held in Durban and in the Western Cape. In Durban a huge pass-burning campaign took place on 16 December 1930. The police intervened in force. Johannes Nkosi, leader of the Communist Party in Natal, was shot and killed with two other men. Over 200 Africans were deported from their homes.

During the second world war and after, closer fraternal relations were established between the national liberation movement and the Communist Party.

In the 1949 elections of the ANC, the moderate leadership of Dr. Xuma was ousted and new militant ones elected, including prominent members of the Youth League such as O. R. Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and others. In 1950 a mammoth "Defend Free Speech" Convention decided on a strike throughout the Transvaal to protest at bans imposed on J. B. Marks, Yusuf Dadoo and other leaders. On 1 May 1950 a most powerful strike took place throughout the Transvaal.

The Government introduced the Unlawful Organizations Bill to give it power to proscribe organizations. The ANC, the SAIC, the Communist Party and the Non-European Council of Trade Unions together organized the first general strike covering the whole country in protest against this law. On 26 June 1950, hundreds of thousands stayed away from work.

This was a historic date because it laid the foundations for close co-operation between national liberation and working-class organizations.

The Suppression of Communism Act had just become law and the Communist Party of South Africa, which had worked legally for 30 years, was outlawed. Savage penalties were provided for any person advocating communism or defending its objectives. A list of communists was prepared and administrative action taken against people on the list.

The Party was formally dissolved, but the Leninist core came together underground to form the S. A. Communist Party. Throughout the hard struggles of the 50s and 60s, the SACP has a proud record of service in the united front of national liberation, which as its programme declares is its "immediate and foremost task".

8. *Freedom Charter and the New Phase*

Between 1953 and 1955 a giant campaign was organized throughout the country to mobilize the people behind a common programme. The climax of this unique campaign was the holding of a Congress of the People in Kliptown. The Congress adopted a Freedom Charter on 26 June 1955. The Freedom Charter was and is the programme of the united front of national liberation in South Africa.

The Government called this programme a treasonable document and on 5 December 1956 arrested 156 leaders of the national liberation movement on a charge of High Treason. The trial was to drag on for four years.

The importance of the Freedom Charter lay in the fact that the different national organizations of the African, Indian and Coloured people together with the working-class organizations had a common programme of national liberation. The various strands of the progressive movement which had worked separately with brief moments of co-operation, were now pledged to work together for long-term aims. A complex structure emerged with tre-

mendous potential for the future. The unity of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions became famous as the Congress Movement. This is one of the great achievements of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

In 1960 the ANC, previously illegalized in the rural areas of Zeerust and Sekhukhuniland, was declared illegal throughout the country. The other organizations of the Alliance were immobilized by arrests, banishments and restrictions. In 1962 the Congress of Democrats was also declared illegal.

The campaigns before 1960 had been based on militant mass actions such as strikes, boycotts and civil disobedience. But the situation internally and the upsurge in Africa resulting in the emergence of many independent states, caused a change of policy. The national liberation movement decided to prepare for armed struggle. The terrorism practised by the government against the struggles of the people made it clear that this was the only way out. Therefore the liberation movement added armed revolution to the methods to be used to overthrow the apartheid regime. In 1961 Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) came into existence as the military wing of te liberation movement. Numerous acts of sabotage took place. People were sent abroad for military training which they could not get in the country. Thousands of freedom fighters were imprisoned in retaliation. These included foremost leaders of the national movements and the Communist Party.

Beginning in August 1967 a new phase of the armed struggle has opened with the formation of a military alliance between the ANC and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. Freedom-fighters of the ANC/ZAPU alliance have entered into armed clashes with the combined forces of the Smith and Vorster regimes.

Inevitably the guerilla struggle will be intensified and the masses of the people will continuously join in meeting armed repression with armed revolt.

Our people's inevitable victory is also dependent on the vital role played by the governments and peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the international working-class movement and the socialist countries.

We are waging our struggle not only against the fascist Vorster regime, but also against the unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar. Imperialism, led by the USA, considers it its duty to protect the white minority regime in South Africa and to maintain imperialism's hegemony over all of Southern Africa. For this reason, the imperialists ensure that South Africa continues as their fortress–hence the military, technical, economic and other might that the South African white racists control and have turned against our people and organization.

An important characteristic is that Nazism is firmly resolved to re-group in South Africa. The involvement of West Germany in this development has been fully documented, especially by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR.

Imperialism and fascism are using South Africa as their base and springboard for launching a counter-revolutionary offensive in Africa. The aggressive nature of these forces constitutes a direct threat to peace and independence not only in Africa, but also in the rest of the world.

In this situation, it is crucial that all progessive forces throughout the world realise that they constitute one of the main motive forces in wiping out imperialism and fascism in South Africa. That realization must be translated into concrete action in support of the national liberation movement in South Africa as led by the ANC, for victory against imperialism, for true national independence and lasting peace.

In this year of Human Rights, the duty of the forces that stand against Vorster fascism is no less than the duty that faced the progressive forces against Hitler Nazism.

From the progressive international point of view, a fundamental change of attitude and outlook is required towards the struggle against fascism in South Africa.

The brunt of the struggle is ours: it is a duty to our people and our international duty to destroy the monster of white domination in our country. That struggle is also international.

It is of basic importance to the whole development of the world-wide revolutionary and progressive movement, urgently and immediately. This Conference establishes that and, if only for that reason, is of great importance.

Prosecution of action by all progressive forces to destroy fascism and imperialism in Southern Africa and the rest of the unliberated countries in Africa is, we repeat, the urgent and immediate duty of all anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

The African National Congress and its allies are confident that victory will be ours in the hard and protracted struggles that lie ahead. The long night of oppression that descended on our people is approaching its end. A new dawn of freedom is heralded by the machine-guns of our freedom fighters–the first African army with modern weapons ever to tread the soil of our motherland.

However long and hard the battles ahead may be, we shall win, because our cause is just. It is supported by our own people, by the peoples of Africa, by the whole of progressive mankind.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

I. P. YASTREBOVA (U.S.S.R.)

Racial Discrimination – Fundamental Principle of Policy of the Reactionary Regimes of Southern Africa – its Forms and Major Social and Political Aspects

Racial discrimination and national oppression are practised in Southern Africa by various methods in various forms. The most refined and perfect forms of racial discrimination took on in the citadel of Southern African racialism–the Republic of South Africa, and it is not a matter of chance.

It is the scene of most complicated and acute social, economic, political and national antagonisms. The robbery and exploitation of labour of native inhabitants as well as the systematic practice of racial discrimination have resulted in the accumulation of all the wealth of the country in the hands of the ruling elite of the population

of European origin, while the numerous non-European peoples are doomed to poverty and arbitrariness.

The great social and economic and political changes that have taken place since the Second World War, made ruling classes in the R.S.A. seek new, more refined and disguised forms of colonial exploitation and national oppression. The policy pursued by the R.S.A. ruling Nationalist Party took on the form of "apartheid".

Another country of Southern Africa–Rhodesia–is also linked with the R.S.A. by their common historical destinies and peculiarities of their economic and social structure. The Rhodesian racialists, however, have chosen the doctrine of "racial partnership" as a form of racial discrimination and exploitation of the non-European population of the country. The ideologues of racialism in Rhodesia preach that the partnership policy has now entered a new stage–a stage of integration.

Until 1961 a so-called assimilation policy towards the indigenous population had been practised in Angola and Mozambique. In 1961 Portugal set out to implement a number of reforms which were supposed to make the African and Portuguese populations of Angola and Mozambique equal. However, the Portuguese citizenship, basically undemocratic in general, actually deprives all the indigenous population of the opportunity to take part in elections. The Portuguese constitution preserves the legal grounds for discriminating against the indigenous population of the colony, making it possible, in particular, to apply enforced labour treatment to Africans.

Racial discrimination practised by ruling classes with the assistance of foreign monopoly capital in Southern Africa are not developments of today. At all the stages of colonial conquests by imperialist powers such as Britain, Portugal, Kaiser's Germany exploration and exploitation by them of the conquered territories, racial oppression have always been an integral part of their colonial policy.

The doctrine of apartheid appeared way back in 1947–1948, when the opposing Nationalist party, the most reactionary of all South African parties, decided to express their demands in one motto.

Apartheid was first described in an election pamphlet entitled "The policy of the Nationalist Party towards the coloured population" issued on March 29, 1948.

The literal meaning of the word "apartheid" is the translation of the English word "segregation". The basic meaning of apartheid and segregation is racial discrimination and oppression. Apartheid differs from segregation basically by more cruel racialist measures and a harsher punishment of those opposed to these measures.

In addition, the ideas of apartheid were presented by their originators as a logical continuation of traditions of the Boer population alone. In this connection, religion, the Dutch reformist church, to which most of the Afrikanders belong, were freely referred to by the ideologues of apartheid. On this basis the ideologues of apartheid say that their way of life and development of each race and each people is predestined. To assimilate, to lose "blood purity" in any way means to perish, practically, for the "superior" race. "The theoreticians" of apartheid argue exactly in the spirit of "Mein Kampf".

The practical meaning of the apartheid doctrine is evident. If every race has its own specific road of development, then, the fruits of the European civilization should be used by the whites alone, while the blacks can live by their own "traditional" tribal system.

Modern culture and comprehensive education are, thus, a privilege of the whites, since all this can bring only harm to the blacks because it leads them astray from the predestined road.

All these anti-scientific theoretical constructions are designed to justify the cruelest exploitations of Africans.

According to the leaders of the Nationalist Party, "ideal" or "complete" apartheid is achieved when all the basic racial groups of the country-Africans, whites, Indians and metises–are settled separately from one another.

As a result of the continuous pursuit of the racial discrimination policy a peculiar social structure has come to exist in the countries of Southern Africa, noted for an almost complete coincidence of class, racial and national division of society.

In the R.S.A. non-Europeans accounted only for a small fraction of the lower middle class, while they constituted the overwhelming majority of the working class. Africans perform the hardest and lowest-paid work. Land robbery of the African population has resulted in a situation where it has been pushed to less fertile lands whose area does not exceed 13 per cent of the total area of the country.

The R.S.A. non-European population is the main productive force of the country, creating its wealth. However, it is practically deprived of every opportunity to use the fruits of its labour. In the R.S.A. the per capita national income of the European population was six and a half times more than that of metises and eleven times higher than that of Africans.[1] The place occupied by the non-European peoples in the R.S.A. social structure because of the system of racial discrimination and the share of the national income given to them by ruling classes of the country serve as convincing testimonial to the fact that racial discrimination in the hands of the ruling elite is an instrument of exploitation and robbery of the working people.

A similar place is occupied by the African population in the social structure of Rhodesia. The African population is mainly engaged in agriculture. However, the entire system of land tenure and ownership is based on racial discrimination. As a result of various discriminatory measures on every Rhodesian citizen of European origin falls 14 times more land than on every African. Africans constitute the backbone of the labour force of the country. As is the case in the R.S.A., in the overwhelming majority of cases they are doomed to perform hard unskilled work. Their wages are ten to twenty times lower than those of European workers.

An almost complete coincidence of class, racial and national composition is observed in the social structure of Angola and Mozambique, as is the case in all other countries of Southern Africa. An insignificant minority of mostly Portuguese uses the fruits of labour of the majority of the population and, therefore, is a dominating economic, political and social group.

The practice of racial discrimination in modern forms shows that no matter what kinds of ideological disguise it may take on its real aim is to stabilize the social and economic structure existing in the countries of Southern Africa, to seek new forms and modes of exploitation of non-European population, to strengthen the reactionary regime.

1 Apartheid. Its effects on education, science, culture and information, UNESCO, 1967, p. 19

The policy of "apartheid" proclaimed by the R.S.A. Nationalist Party provided for "the observance of territorial and political segregation and separation of Europeans from non-Europeans, on the whole, according to residence and in the sphere of production as far as practicable.[2] The system of so-called "Bantustans" worked out on the basis of this election plank was, according to its architects, to provide "national homelands" for Africans, who were to be removed from the areas assigned to the European population.

The plundering nature of this design is confirmed by the fact that the richest and prosperous regions were declared "white" areas, whereas "national homelands" of the African population were to be established on the basis of already over-populated and poor reserves.

The impracticability and the demagogy of plans to set up "Bantustans" and evict Africans from the so-called "white" areas are only too evident. However, measures to implement them are an important tool in the hands of the Nationalist Government to bolster up its arbitrary rule over the non-European population. Outside their poor and over-populated "national homelands" all Africans are declared "foreigners" and are denied even a semblance of protection by law. Thus, in reality, the "theory" of separate existence and development opens the way for complete and unlimited arbitrariness of the authorities. That is where its practical significance for R.S.A. ruling circles lies.

The basic meaning of the "apartheid" policy, as a whole, is that it opens the way for a further intensification of the exploitation of the R.S.A. non-European population.

Under "apartheid" Africans, contracted to work in so-called "white" areas, must stay there as "foreign labour", that is to say, as workers subjected to practically unlimited exploitation.

Racial discrimination in its present form of "apartheid" is designed to deform the process of social development and subordinate it to the task of consolidating the position of ruling classes. By preserving the obsolete social relations in "Bantustans", ruling classes seek to obtain anew a social basis in the form of preserved and artificially revived tribal institutions, a basis eroded by capitalism as it develops. By placing the administrative elite in "Bantustans" in a privileged position, the Government hopes to obtain cooperation of a significant section of the African population, which, incidentally, plays a leading part in African society.

"Apartheid" slows down the process of national consolidation and brings about sharp social conflicts, which frequently take on the form of racial and national collisions.

In the 50-es ruling circles of Rhodesia took measures to paralize the national liberation struggle waged by the peoples by manoeuvring and giving insignificant concessions. One of the major elements of that policy was to encourage the appearance and development of capitalist elements among African peoples and, in so doing, to find a new force to lean on in the emerging African bourgeoisie.

However, it proved impossible to implement this measure of enforced social transformations in the way originally planned by its architects. The main reason why these plans failed was the resistance of the African population. Later on, without officially renouncing the doctrine of "partnership", the Rhodesian racialists embarked upon the road followed by the R.S.A., persistently carrying out the separation of the African and European populations in domestic life, at public establishments etc.

The developments of the past two decades have left an impact even on such remote corners of Africa as the Portuguese "overseas" colonies. Here, too, Portuguese imperialists set out to seek new ways and means of social policy with which it could subject the social structure of those countries to an intensified economic exploitation and ensure wider social support for themselves. The labour legislation reforms of 1960–1963 opened the way for application of capitalist forms of exploitations of freely employed labour force, without removing the possibility of using enforced labour. Certain changes have been made in the system of colonial administration, although to all practical purposes it has preserved its discriminatory nature.

However, these reforms create very feeble prerequisites for a class differentiation of the African population, and their limited and practically discriminatory nature, coupled with the poverty of Africans, postpone this process till distant times. Seeking to strengthen its positions in Angola and Mozambique Portuguese imperialism has followed the road once taken by the R.S.A. and Rhodesia, improving its social basis by increasing the number of European settlers and placing them in a privileged position.

The ruling classes of the countries of Southern Africa use racial discrimination in their own class interests to cement the existing social and economic pattern of the Southern African countries, as is the case in the R.S.A. and Rhodesia, or adapt it to serving the needs of their further capitalist development, as is the case in Angola and Mozambique. The desire of the ruling classes to accelerate the process of class differentiation of non-European peoples, in some cases, and to slow down it, in others, in order to retain the obsolete forms of social relations is aimed at winning a growing social support to boost their domination in modern conditions. The practice of racial discrimination in the social field shows that the real purpose is to push back and tie up the non-European peoples to the lower steps of the social ladder and to secure the class interests of the exploiter classes of the population.

Racial discrimination in political and social life of the non-European population is a major element in the all-out offensive launched by the reaction.

Racial discrimination is basically undemocratic. The non-European population is denied democratic and civil rights in the countries of Southern Africa in various ways. For instance, in the R.S.A. the denial of political rights to the African population is disguised by the Bantu Administration Act, in other words, by granting Africans a very limited local self-government in "Bantustans". In actual practice local authorities fulfil their limited functions under the Government's control and thus lose even the semblance of "self-government". On the whole, as a result of growing discriminatory legislation in the field of voting rights the R.S.A. non-European population is denied even the semblance of representation in stage governing bodies.

Property and education qualifications, required in Rhodesia, practically turn the right to vote for Africans

2 South African parties and policies 1910–1961, A collect source book, L., 1960

into a fiction. The legislative and executive authorities in the R.S.A. and Rhodesia even in the framework of a bourgeois democracy cannot be called representative organs, since they are elected by less than 20 per cent of the R.S.A. population and by less than 7 to 8 per cent in Rhodesia, that is, persons of European origin in both countries. In Portuguese "overseas" provinces the voting rights, as was shown by the experience of the elections held after the "native statute" was abolished, could only be used by those, who qualified under the Portuguese civil law. As a result of such "democracy" in Angola, for instance, not more than 5 per cent of the entire population directly participated in the elections.[3]

The Governments, which determine the character of the domestic regimes in the Southern African countries and act on their behalf in the international arena, are not merely anti-popular by the substance of the policies they pursue, but even formally cannot be rightfully called representative organs of power, since they are elected by an insignificant minority of the population.

Police and fascist orders imposed by the ruling classes in the countries of Southern Africa provide ample evidence to show the anti-popular nature of the Southern African regimes. The ruling classes of the countries of Southern Africa have turned to ruthless terror to suppress even the feeblest protests against the existing orders. By intensifying discriminatory legislation to control practically every aspect of life of the non-European population the R.S.A. and Rhodesian authorities have turned their countries into real prison houses for the non-European population. The ruthless ways of suppressing the national liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique are testimonial to the fact that violence is the chief weapon in the arsenal of the reaction of Southern Africa.

In these countries an atmosphere of racial and national estrangement, poisoning with racialism the conscience of millions and millions of people is being constantly fanned out.

Racialist psychosis among one section of the population is dangerous also in view of the fact that it provokes the other section of the population to react violently, and extremism of the two sides can only hamper and complicate the road to the liberation of peoples. However, the reality of Southern Africa provides many examples of deep understanding of the complexity of the situation, of overcoming racial prejudices, of a courageous search of ways to unite all the militant forces, of genuine proletarian internationalism.

The South African Communist Party has advocated the ideas of internationalism in Southern Africa ever since its birth. It has honourably carried this banner through all these years of struggle, persecution, exile and jail. And now, driven underground by the police regime, it continues its heroic activities to mobilize all the forces of democracy and progress to carry on a common struggle.

Racialism is not a self-appearing or isolated phenomenon. It appears wherever the reaction dominates. The years of the Nationalist Government have seen not only the R.S.A. turning into a hotbed of racialism, but also into a seat of reaction. Such acts as Communism Suppression Act and a series of antidemocratic acts that followed were aimed against all the democratic and progressive forces of the country. Africans Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, laureat of the Lenin Prize "For strengthening peace among nations" of 1967, Afrikander Abraham Fischer, Indian Ahmet Katadza and thousands of genuine patriots of their country have been thrown in jail in the R.S.A.

These examples are a worthy answer to the efforts of the ruling circles to incite one group of the population against another on the racial basis.

The persistent implementation and intensification of discrimination gravely affect the state and development of the countries of Southern Africa as a whole.

From the economic point of view, racial discrimination inhibites the fullest possible development of productive forces, results in labour waste in social production, in reduced productivity of labour in society as a whole.

From the political point of view, racial discrimination in the hands of the ruling circles of the countries of Southern Africa is not only a tool of national and colonial oppression, but a weapon to suppress all democratic and progressive forces regardless of their race and nationality. It is a weapon of reaction and fascism in the struggle against forces of democracy and progress.

The solution of complex problems, facing the peoples of Southern Africa, is possible only through the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, on the basis of introducing democratic changes in political life, of handing over the basic means of production to immediate producers and granting to the people the right to settle the future destinies of their countries by themselves. These basic provisions are contained in programme documents of the democratic parties and organisations, existing in the countries of Southern Africa.

The road of the revolutionary liberation movement of the peoples of Southern Africa is seriously blocked by difficulties, raised by the complex situation inside those countries and the world reaction, seeking to preserve the stronghold of counter-revolution in the African continent. It is not by chance that in South Africa there has been established a suppression machinery unknown to any other country of the African continent.

A particularly difficult situation has arisen for the revolutionary liberation forces of South Africa in the 60-es. The possibilities of doing the tasks of the liberation struggle by peaceful means were rapidly shrinking, and the idea of liberation by armed struggle as the only means left by the reaction was becoming more and more popular. The forces of liberation unite their efforts, as is the case, for instance, with the Africa National Congress and the Union of the Liberation of Zimbabwe Peoples, and wage a courageous struggle against the racialist regimes supported by world imperialism.

The elimination of racialist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa is of great importance to the prospects of the revolution in Africa. The result of the struggle in the countries of Southern Africa and particularly in the R.S.A. may largely affect the destinies of other regions of the continent and primarily the neighbouring countries. Therefore, it is for the whole of Africa to fight the racialist and colonial regimes there.

The elimination of the racialist and fascist regimes in Southern Africa would affect not only the situation in Africa, but could markedly change the political climate outside the continent too, would weaken the imperialist camp, where the R.S.A. and Portugal play no small part. That is why it is the task of all anti-imperialist forces of the world to fight the racialist and fascist regimes.

3 A/5800/Add. 3, 5 January 1965, 70

Racism is far from being a local phenomenon. The developments of recent years and months, namely, the shameful war of American imperialism against the heroic people of Vietnam, the villainous murder of a glorious fighter for Negro rights, Martin Luther King, and an outbreak of Ku-Klux-Klan violence in the United States, the rise of neo-nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany–all this provides plenty of evidence to show that the forces of imperialism and reaction are actively using racism as their weapon. They frequently resort to racialist theories to unite the forces of reaction, to intensify oppression, and exploitation of the working men, to split fighters against imperialism and colonial exploitation. That is why, the struggle against racialism and the elimination of the seats of its domination are the tasks of all internationalist and peace-loving forces of the world.

Honest people throughout the world cannot put up with the intolerable situation which has arisen in Southern Africa. The elimination of one of the hotbeds of racism and reaction in the southern part of the African continent will open for many millions of Africans a way into the future, will help eradicate the poison of racialism from the conscience of men and keep the air of our planet clean. And that is for all mankind to achieve.

H. KRAMER (G.D.R.)

The System of Colonial Exploitation in Southern Africa

The struggle for the liberation of the southern part of Africa is not only motivated by the fact that white domination in these countries denies the right of political self-determination to the vast majority of the population, subjecting them to extreme political and racial discrimination and to social and moral degradation. It is also not only based on the part these governments play in the imperialist global strategy nor on the fact alone that their existence and policy is a permanent threat to the security and sovereignty of the already independent African countries and consequently to world peace. These reasons alone would be sufficient to give the moral right to all oppressed peoples of these countries, to the independent African countries and all anti-imperialist forces in the world to fight for the elimination of these colonial and racist governments in the southern part of the African continent.

The justification of this struggle and of the driving forces behind it lies in the fact that white domination in Southern Africa means an unparalleled economic yoke for the oppressed peoples of these countries, a system of colonial exploitation which, considering the time of its existence and its identity, can be designated as the climax of classical colonialism.

Before explaining this system in detail we must ask whether it is correct to speak of colonial exploitation in the southern part of Africa, the economically most important part of which, the South African Republic, is an independent state.

Should not the term colonial exploitation be limited to actual colonies, in our case the Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique? I have stated my point of view in advance; my opinion is that in Southern Africa as a whole we can speak of colonial exploitation, even if there are certain differences between the various territories. Colonial exploitation in the highly industrial South African Republic is not exercised in the same manner as in the economically backward Portuguese colonies. Although it is correct to say that the South African Republic is an autonomous state, this is only part of the picture, as the existence of "reserves", or "Bantustans", which are now to take the place of these "reserves", in reality represent the existence of colonies in the South African Republic. Politically and economically the Bantustans have taken over the functions of a colony dependent on imperialist South Africa.

Contrary to the situation in economically developed countries, where wage earners as a rule are forced for economic reasons to sell their labour power, non-economic coercion is the determining factor in the South African Republic. Under the conditions of state monopolist capitalism, the national and foreign monopolist bourgeoisie in the South African Republic has created a refined system of colonial exploitation. Falsifying class contradictions into alleged racial contradictions, thus giving white workers a higher social status than Asian and coloured workers, let alone African workers, constant efforts are being made to divide the working class. It must be said that these efforts have succeeded as far as the white wage earners are concerned. Corrupted by higher wages and many privileges, the white workers, who in their majority have lost their class consciousness, play the part of a workers' aristocracy which openly supports the fascist government. This does not change the fact, however, that the white wage earner is exploited as well, although to a lesser degree than their Asian, coloured or African class brothers. The most exploited are the African workers. They are exploited to such an extent that the profit rates of the South African companies are the highest in the world and the South African Republic is considered by the capitalists of all countries to be heaven on earth. Such a high rate of exploitation of the African workers is only possible through a great number of measures, all designed to maintain or even aggravate the existing situation. Gradually these measures have been built into a complete, coordinated system of colonial exploitation.

The outstanding feature of the system of colonial exploitation in the South African Republic is its combination of non-economic and economic coercion. Most important in this system of colonial exploitation are:

1. The racial laws which discriminate against all non-white persons, mainly Africans, granting them much lower wages for equal work, denying them the right to qualification, free choice of profession, free choice of residence and many other things. In this way, the bourgeoisie finds it possible to exploit the non-white workers to a higher degree than the whites;

2. The Pass Laws and similar laws which deprive the African workers of all protection leave them at the mercy of the bourgeoisie's police. In the name of these laws they are indiscriminately carried off into forced labour;

3. Migratory work which forces the African workers to sell their labour at an even lower price than other workers. As migratory work produces higher profits than the employ of permanent workers, the ruling fascist

monopolist bourgeoisie in South Africa strives to classify practically all African workers as migratory workers;

4. The maintenance of the "reserves" or "Bantustans" as an industrial labour force reserve;

5. The banning of all class organizations which wage a consistent struggle against exploitation, such as the Communist Party of South Africa, the banning of the so-called mixed trade unions, the banning of trade unions for African workers and of other organizations.

Comparing the system of exploitation in the Portuguese colonies with that of the South African Republic, we find certain similarities but also considerable differences. In both cases it is a system of colonial exploitation, a system in which controlled economy plays a great part and foreign monopolies participate to a high degree in colonial exploitation.

As far as the differences are concerned, the Portuguese colonies are economically backward, while the South African Republic is an economically developed country. In the Portuguese colonies we have colonialism in its traditional form, in the South African Republic a special type of colonialism. Finally, in the South African Republic exploitation is practised by a domestic colonial power, the South African Republic herself, while in the Portuguese colonies this is not the case.

There are considerable differences between both systems of colonial exploitation.

The workers in Southern Africa have the difficult task of gaining their freedom from exploitation by national and foreign monopolist capital. They will achieve this aim only through their joint struggle. In this struggle the workers of the Southern African countries will always have the solidarity of the workers of the GDR.

I would now like to deal with a number of economic facts to prove and explain these theses:

In accordance with the terms used by Sobolev during the Cairo Seminar, the Southern African states can be divided in the following groups:

a) Countries without or practically without any industry, without any infra-structure. Their agriculture is primitive and unbalanced. These are countries like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

b) Countries whose social structure is determined by two economic sectors, primitive agriculture and small commodity production on the one side and the sector of foreign capital, of neo-colonialism on the other. The Portuguese colonies Angola and Mozambique as well as South West Africa are part of this group.

c) Countries with a developed industry, a corresponding infrastructure and modern capitalist agriculture on one side and small commodity production on the other. This is mainly the South African Republic and with certain limitations Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) which is in the stage of transition from (b) to (c).

What greatly distinguishes the countries Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland listed under (a) from countries on a similar production level, let us say in West Africa, are their close economic ties to a highly developed capitalist country, the South African Republic. These ties do not only consist of a customs and a monetary union with the same currency. Especially important is the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers are enlisted for the South African mines and large farms.

Speaking of Southern Africa economy, ohne thinks first of the South African Republic among the 8 states and colonies existing there.

The conditions for investment of capital are so favourable in the South African Republic that funds for new investments are always available. As the capital provided by the South African bourgeoisie is not sufficient, foreign capital flows into the country, realizing extraordinary profits.

Wilhelm Röpke, one of the most ardent advocates of South African apartheid in Europe, stated the following in connection with the conditions for investment of capital in South Africa: "According to reliable estimates, dividends on these investments are on the average the highest in the world. This, in addition to the moderate taxation in South Africa, explains why this country is so attractive for foreign capital." The statistical year-book of the Republic states that in 1965 shares of South African industrial and commercial firms brought an average dividend of 19.72 %. If, in addition, we consider all other forms of profit such as interest, etc., one cannot but agree with this estimate of unusually high profits.

Such factors as mineral resources etc., could not result in such extraordinary efficacy in South Africa, were it not for the race laws, which provide the possibility for the brutal exploitation of the most important productive force, the worker. The South African working class is in the great majority non-white. The especially favourable conditions for the realization of invested capital are mainly due to the high degree of exploitation of the non-white workers, whose wages are much lower than those of the white workers.

This is why their standard of living is being kept at such a low level. We must therefore speak of an increasing relative pauperization of the non-white proletariat in South Africa. In other words, the wages not only decrease in relation to the constantly growing profits, but, as a result, in relation to the wealth of the bourgeoisie in general.

As the reasons for pauperization are exclusively social, it is theoretically possible to counteract it through the political and economic struggle of the working class. But in practice these possibilities are denied the non-white workers by the drastic apartheid laws which prevent almost every political and economic movement. The oppression of the non-white population is becoming increasingly acute with the increasing state monopolist regulations in the South African Republic.

Oppression in South Africa is so rigorous that protest is registered not only on the part of workers in the socialist countries who oppose every form of exploitation, but also by progressive people the world over. International organizations such as the United Nations and the International Labour Organization voice their opposition against the practices of the South Africa bourgeoisie.

As early as 1953 a special committee of the United Nations condemned the fact that "legal stipulations exist in South Africa which only apply to the indigenous population and which are designed to maintain a barrier between it and the inhabitants of European origin"; these stipulations have "the direct effect that the majority of the indigenous population is being employed in agriculture and manual labour" and in this sense "there exists in the South African Union an economically significant system of forced labour". All these accusations levelled at South Africa on the part of the U.N. are justified, and they are being supported in all aspects by the government of the GDR.

Nelson Mandela, one of the fearless leaders in the liberation struggle of South Africa, stated during the infamous Rivonia Trial in June 1964 that "South Africa is the richest country in Africa and could be one of the richest countries of the world. But in reality, it is a country of extremes and of very marked contrasts. While the whites probably have the highest living standard in the world, the Africans live in poverty and misery". This was the viewpoint of Mandela whom South Africa reaction sentenced to life-imprisonment with hard labour.

In fact, the rather meager *official* statistics offer very few facts to support this contention. On the contrary. If one were to believe the speeches by spokesmen of the government, it would appear as if the citizens of South Africa live quite well indeed. And as far as comments by West German official visitors are concerned, one might think that the Africans live very well. Interior Minister Paul Lücke of the Federal Republic of Germany who resigned only recently, stated after his return from a South Africa visit in 1967, that in South Africa one experiences what, in the Federal Republic, is called an "economic miracle".

The West German-Swiss economist, William Röpke, found after a visit to South Africa that "South Africa is part of those areas in the world in which actual affluence is evident. An affluence in which even the Bantu population shares to such a large extent that their living standard towers over that of all the inhabitants of all the other African states".

In this same vein, the former director of the German South African Society, Count Dönhoff, expressed himself. He said that "the economy finds itself on a steadily rising trend and an advancing high living-standard is a reality for all racial groups. "This", he claimed, "is the result of the good cooperation between the whites and the blacks."

Finally, we should like to mention the South African Senator Louis Weichardt who is considered a spokesman for the South Africans of German descent. In an article he comes to the conclusion that "statistics as well clearly show the just share in the economic flowering of the country accruing to every group of people in this multination state". One feels compelled to ask Weichardt what he understands by a "just share in the economic flowering of the country".

Let us examine more carefully the living conditions of the African population which represents two-thirds of the total population of the South African Republic.

In regard to the attitude of the government toward the African work force, the South African Minister of Labour, in a speech to Parliament in 1965, said the following: "The policy of the government is absolutely clear. First of all, we are against the elimination of the race barrier. Secondly, we are against lifting the work barrier. And thirdly, we are against the recognition of Bantu trade unions. That is the main essence of our labour legislation."

The significance of the work barrier and the effectiveness of its built-in race barrier can be seen in these figures: Although the whites represented only 17.5 per cent of all gainfully employed at the time of the census, 87.1 per cent of management personnel and practically all top positions are filled by whites.

The government of South Africa is trying to maintain this state of affairs as long as possible. For example, Africans are forbidden to learn a trade. In the years from 1962 to 1966, 40,955 contracts for apprentices were concluded in the Republic of South Africa. 37,563 of these pertained to whites, 2,941 to coloured people, 451 to Indians and not a single apprentice contract to an African. It is another question whether the economic conditions, as for instance the lack of white labour, might not force the government to take a different attitude in the future.

If one examines the individual branches of the manufacturing and processing industry, it can be seen that the whites represent the majority only in one single branch, that of the polygraphic industry, with 55.7 per cent. In all other branches the share of the whites is much smaller: in the metal industry 27.6 per cent; in the food industry 16.3 per cent; in the clothing industry 11.9 per cent; in the textile industry 11.2 per cent; and in the wood processing industry only 9.5 per cent.

The lack of white labour power leads the monopolies to employ Africans or other non-whites instead of whites. But where Job Reservation regulations are not being observed, the wages of Africans and other non-whites are significantly lower for the same work. On the other hand, the South African government attempts to overcome at least partially the lack of skilled workers which, in turn, is a direct result of the racist Job Reservation, by stimulating the immigration of white skilled workers and specialists, especially from Western Europe. The way I see it, this does not contradict the interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its opportunities for continued low wages, especially for the Africans, as compared to wages for whites, since, in the opinion of the ruling circles, an enlargement of the share of the white population represents, among others, an important factor for the maintenance of the capitalist social order in South Africa.

Contrary to the stated government policy, to force the Africans into the "reserves", 100,000 Africans were being annually newly integrated into the economy of the so-called white territories between 1960 and 1965. From this, it would be possible to conclude that the development of South Africa does not proceed at all in the direction of apartheid, that is to say the setting-up of separate African and white areas, but rather that there is a steadily advancing integration of Africans into the white economic system.

However, this conclusion should be looked upon with a certain amount of caution, of the kind which was expressed by the world-renowned defender of the South African working class, Bram Fischer. He expressed such doubts in his "Message from South Africa", in which he says: "The opinion that economic forces will undermine apartheid is correct only to a degree. Certainly, the law, according to which certain professions are open only to whites or coloured people, is being daily violated.

"But the illegal mobilization of Africans as semi-skilled or even skilled workers in reality leads to ever-increasing exploitation of the working class, because the employers engage Africans for so-called white jobs at lower wages, for they know full well that Africans have no right to strike and to organize themselves. Arguments that the inherent tendencies of the economy are undermining the policy of apartheid are deceptive, especially in the light of the increasing human and political oppression going hand in hand with the mounting influx of Africans. The more educated and the more "industrialized"–the more the Africans are being suppressed."

According to official data, the whites, who do not

even make up one-fifth of the entire population, obtain four-fifths of the South African national income. Apart from the appropriation of the surplus product by the almost exclusively white bourgeoisie, the redistribution of the wage fund in favour of white workers plays an essential role.

Average Wages in South Africa's Industry (April 1967)

	Mining	Processing Industry
White	R 261	R 231
Coloured	R 64	R 59
Indian	R 57	R 63
African	R 16	R 43

The discriminatory practices have long since become an ingredient of the South African wage policy. These measures were for the first time laid down by law through the introduction of the so-called policy of "civilized work", passed in 1924, and designed to protect unskilled white workers. "Civilized work" was defined as work being done by persons who have the right to a European living standard, whereas so-called uncivilized work was described as work being done by persons whose desires were aimed at mere satisfaction of the necessities of life, the kind of persons savages and underdeveloped peoples are supposed to be. Accordingly, white workers received higher wages than Africans, although they did the same work. This principle has remained valid until this day. Rejecting demands that coloured post officials should be paid as much as white post officials if they are engaged in default of white labour, the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs declared: "Since we know that the white man has a higher living standard than the coloured man, Bantu or member of other races, it is absolutely necessary that the white man receives a higher salary for his maintenance."

This shows that the wage policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie towards the South African working class is aimed unquestionably at splitting the working class. Under the pretext that racial differences constitute also differences in quality, role of a dividing element is conferred upon the white working people, on the basis of the fact that any work that requires qualified labour or is linked with leadership functions is forbidden to non-white people. Corrupted by substantially higher wages and privileges, the white proletariat has developed into a workers' aristocracy. Their trade unions pursue an opportunist policy which in the last analysis means support for the ruling racialist government.

Especially West German visitors to South Africa, among them Strauss, Lübke, Lücke and Stain over and over again have compared the living standard of Africans in the South African Republic with that in other African states, thus arriving at results favourable to the South African Republic. Strictly speaking, such comparisons are impossible, as South Africa is a country with, to a certain extent, highly developed industries, in contrast to other countries which possess only poorly developed economies as a consequence of decades of colonial mismanagement and exploitation. Mandela once replied to such remonstrances:

"We do not complain that we are poor in comparison to the people in other countries, but because we are poor in comparison with the white in our own country, and because laws make it impossible for us to remove this disproportion."

Analyses made by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) of ten industrial branches have shown for the period between 1918 and 1964 that, now as before, major parts of the working African population do not even obtain the means required for a minimum subsistence level. Despite increases in most industrial fields, the average wages for African workers in all fields are under the minimum subsistence level, as calculated for 1961 (44.89 Rands per month). The Johannesburg City Council had to admit that although the wages have risen by 14 per cent since 1962, about 68 per cent of the African families living in the African townships near Johannesburg, do not reach the minimum subsistence level.

As a consequence of the inflationary price increases, which are above all a result of the steadily rising government expenditures, especially on armament, living costs have risen by 20 per cent since 1958. At present, the weekly average wage for unskilled African workers at Soweto, an African township complex near Johannesburg, with a population of more than 300,000, amounts to 8.25 Rands, or R 37.35 a month. On the basis of 1.3 wage earners in a household, this represents an income of 46.31 Rands for the family. The officially calculated minimum subsistence level, however, amounts to R 55.57, so that each family has a monthly deficit of R 9.26. It should be noted that the wage conditions for Africans in the area of Johannesburg, except for the gold mining area, are the most favourable. This shows clearly that the exploitation of Africans is not only aimed at appropriating the surplus product, but also the necessary product, whereby non-economic pressure apart from economic pressure plays an essential role.

Obviously, the ruling circles in South Africa find that the low wages being paid to African workers are still too high. Therefore they have taken into consideration to de-centralize the industrial areas and thus to realize two main points of their programme simultaneously, i.e. to prevent a further concentration of the South African working class, and to reduce the expenditure on wages in the interest of higher profits. The "reserves", where the living conditions of the Africans are still more difficult than in the industrial centres, seem to be suited for such experiments.

The income of the population in the "reserves" is extraordinarily low. Relevant analyses showed that the average annual money income is 9.2 Rands. Money sent back home by migratory workers improved the situation only to a minor extent. Already the Glen Grey Bill, enforced by Cecil Rhodes in the Cape Colony in 1894, was aimed at separating the African population into "reserves". Although the economic interests of the British and South African bourgeoisie at that time contributed to the failure of the policy, since they needed the Africans as workers, the policy of the ruling circles today is aimed at complete racial segregation. For this purpose the government attempts to re-organize the "reserves" into so-called Bantustans. Bunting described the Bantustan scheme as an attempt at creating colonies at a time in history when the world powers are in the process of giving up their colonies in Africa. Röpke regards the formation of Bantustans as a policy of "de-colonization" and "development aid", appropriate to South Africa. The late world-renowned South African politician, Nobel

Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli, assessed the Bantustan laws quite differently, describing this scheme as a simple trick of exploitation and a giant fraud, and the "Bantu self-administration" as a puppet government.

A commission chaired by Tomlinson which had to draft proposals for the government, suggested that in the period from 1956 to 1981, 20,000 jobs annually should be provided in the "reserves" or Bantustans respectively outside agriculture, in order to solve the problem of unemployment. Had this stipulation been implemented, 250,000 such jobs would have had to exist now, one-third of them in the Transkei alone. According to the leader of the "opposition" in the South African Parliament, of the 80,000 planned, 1,700 have been provided so far in the Transkei.

Tomlinson also suggested that white employers should build factories within these "reserves". The government turned down this proposal with the argument that only Africans were allowed to build factories in the Bantustans. The white employers were requested to open factories outside the Bantustans immediately on the border, but on "white" territory, and to engage African labourers who lived in the Bantustans and travelled daily back and forth. These so-called border industries play a major part in the government plans. "It is the government's declared policy to promote de-centralization of industry and the moving of the Bantu into the Bantu homelands and into the border industries." (Verwoerd) Albert Luthuli, the late President of the ANC, evaluated the economic aspect of the Bantustan scheme as follows: 'The Bantustan planners–naturally there is not a single African among them–are offering a solution for eliminating bleak poverty in the 'reserves'. They suggest to create 'border industries'. White industrialists have been called upon to build factories on the edge of the poverty-stricken reserves. Cheap labour is to serve as bait. Nothing but unscrupulously underpaid work could compensate for the economic disadvantages of building factories outside the range of main railway lines and power stations.

"It was a purely administrative decision that 40 per cent of the people in the reserves should remain in agriculture whereas 60 per cent are to become industrial workers. The only reaction on the part of the industrialists was that they built a couple of textile and peanut factories. Theoretically, however, 60 per cent of us are already today industrial workers. It is unimaginable that the 'border industries' employ 60 per cent of people living in reserves."

Luthuli correctly points to the only possibility which might make the capitalists build factories on the periphery of "reserves": extraordinarily low wages. It is obvious that such considerations are playing a role.

It was pointed out in a corresponding analysis that the proportion of white and non-white workers in these border industries would be 1 : 5 as against 1 : 2 in the main industrial regions, and that this would result in a "substantial reduction of wage expenditures."

The Viljoen Commission, which in 1958 made investigations into the state policy for the protection of industry on behalf of the South African government, also states that low wages for less qualified workers were one of the greatest advantages of the border industries. Since according to the Wage Act of 1957, wages and working conditions for non-trade union members, i.e. for all Africans, are fixed by the Wage Board whose members are appointed by the Minister of Labour, there exists an opportunity for stipulating particularly low wage rates for the border industries. In fact, the recommendations by the Wage Board for the border industries are below the wages in fact paid. In the border industries of East London, weekly wages of R 9.75 are paid in the production of ladies' hose. The Wage Board recommends to pay R 6 in the same area R 7.75 a week was paid in the soap industry, whereas the Wage Board suggests R 6.50. It goes without saying that the white bourgeoisie will align its wages with the Board's recommendations, and that wage reductions will be the consequence.

According to estimates by the Viljoen Commission, the weekly pay for African workers in the border industries will be essentially lower than in the main industrial areas. In East London it will be R 6, in Pietermaritzburg and Rustenburg R 5 to R 5.50, in Estcourt, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Pietersburg, Kingwilliamstown and Natal R 4.25 to R 4.75, and in the remote regions of the Transvaal only R 4. If one compares such wages with the weekly average of R 8.25 for African wage-earners in the industrialized zone of Johannesburg (where working hours are also 10 per cent lower than in border industries), it can be seen to what extent exploitation is being intensified in these border industries.

De-centralisation of industry in South Africa also means the banishment of African labour from the former industrial centres, without questioning whether the Africans have been living in this area for generations. In the border industries, African workers will also be admitted for skilled work, naturally at lower wages. According to statements by the Deputy Minister for Bantu Administration and Development of October 17, 1966, the whites should not be encumbered with unbearable burdens. Therefore, the Bantu should "be drawn in as semi-skilled and even skilled workers. This is, however, impossible in the white areas because this would undermine the position of white workers; accordingly it is necessary to create border areas and border industries where the Bantu, with the consent of the (white) trade unions, are to a large extent to be admitted as semi-skilled workers. It is also essential to develop the Bantu areas where the Bantu can be trained as skilled workers."

The South African government operates on the assumption that, as of 1978, it will be possible to "resettle" the Africans in Reserves, as from that time on the number of African workers required in the main industrial centres can be gradually reduced. Already today, the industrial area of Capetown has been chosen to serve as an example for reducing the number of African workers. The Minister of Labour and Coloured Affairs (Viljoen) said in an address that "Africans in the Western Cape area have no right to even exist, as this is the natural field of work for White and Coloured people".

Africans who work as migratory labour in mining are exposed to even more intense exploitation than Africans working for wages in secondary industry. The number of Africans who have to be regarded as migratory labour amounts to about one million. 500,000 of them come from the Reserves of the Republic, the other 50 per cent from the neighbouring states. At present about 84.9 per cent of all migratory workers are employed in mining, 13.7 per cent in agriculture, and 1.4 per cent in other fields of the national economy.

To get as much cheap labour as possible mining in-

dustrialists have developed a large-scale system of recruitment. The South African trade union leader Moses Mabhida wrote in this connection that the areas under Portuguese rule were providing ideal labour, just to the monopolies' liking, because they, having no means of escape, can be sent to any place, even down into the most dreadful pits. For these people, life in their own country is hell; but the mines are not better. What Franz-Joseph Strauss has to report about this is quite different. During his Africa tour in 1966 he said that according to many reports he had thought that the black population wanted to leave South Africa in order to escape alleged oppression. He stated, however, that on the contrary, the South African government had to "take pains to secure the frontiers against the immigration of blacks". It was left to Strauss and his like to term the terrorization and discrimination of workers in South Africa, known all over the world, "alleged oppression". It is only too obvious that he, if he had the opportunity, would introduce similar measures in West Germany. He of all people should have noticed that the rigorous operation of the pass laws and other laws hardly allows for any illegal immigration.

For the mining industry, the employment of migratory labour is the most favoured solution in order to make high profits. For this reason the mine-owners decided against the employment of settled workers, and actually work against any settlement of mine workers. The attitude of the mining monopolies is supported by existing legislation; the Native Labour Regulation Act allegedly contains measures for the protection of Africans, but in reality provides for the accommodation of African workers in concentration camp-style compounds. By housing the workers in compounds, the mining companies are saving the costs for the families. Separated from their men and living in the "reserves" or outside South Africa, these families have to live mostly on primitive agriculture. There are many economists, among them Röpke, who hold the view that gold mining–70 per cent of all miners employed work in gold mines–has to rely on the "cost advantages" of migratory labour, without which it would not be able to exist. Such assertions seem to be rather absurd in face of the profits being made by the gold-mining companies.

According to official data, gold mining paid an average divident of 35.6 per cent in 1964/65, and of 35.8 per cent in 1965/66. The net profit of 325 million Rands, declared by the gold mining companies for the 1965/66 fiscal year was distributed as follows: 121.5 million Rands in tax on profits to the state, 127.2 million Rands in dividends, and 86.5 million Rands for reinforcing the reserve funds. Röpke's comment on this was that "this fact does not at all prove an 'exploitation' of the blacks. Had the mines been compelled to pay higher wages it can be assumed that it would have been impossible to maintain gold production at the present level; and fewer black workers who, attracted by the unique earning facilities in South Africa, mostly stream into the country from outside, would have had the opportunity of earning a living there." According to Röpke, the African miners should even be thankful to the gold tycoons for paying them such low wages and offering them such bad living conditions.

Attention should be drawn to a significant interdependence between the particularly low wages in mining and the wages being paid in the processing industries. It has been proved that the low wage level of migratory workers in mining has also adverse effects on the wage level in the processing industries. Accordingly, all members of the South African bourgeoisie are interested in low wages being paid in mining, regardless of whether they own mining enterprises or not.

The well-known ANC politician Mr. Kgokong stated in 1966 with full justification that the Land Act of 1913 made the Africans landless, rightless, vote-less, cheap labour. In contrast to him Premier Vorster told the South African Parliament on September 22, 1966: "South Africa is free of any guilt complex towards the Bantu. Had not the white man protected the traditional land of the Bantu the Bantu would not possess any land of their own at all today. The 13 per cent of land belonging to the Bantu, are the best lands in South Africa. Of the 87 per cent of lands owned by the whites, a large part is wilderness and desert."

Herr Strauss sings the same song when he said in South Africa in 1966, he had noted that–as he asserts–85 per cent of the land is owned by the whites and 15 per cent by the blacks, but that the white lands are for a large part semi-steppe, supporting only one or two sheep over several hectares, whereas the good land is in the hands of the blacks."

Apart from the fact that these statements by Vorster as well as by Strauss contradict those contained in the Handbook on South Africa, and that it is practically impossible in a three-week visit to give exact data on the nature of the soil of such a large country as the South African Republic, it is obvious that Strauss could have made these remarks only in order to upgrade the international prestige of the South African government. He should nevertheless have noticed that the "good soil in the hands of the blacks" is not of the kind to decently maintain people living there. Even in the few cases where the government, through amelioration and measures against erosion, has contributed to improving the conditions, annual family incomes of R 58 are achieved at the most, while at least R 120 is necessary to cover the most urgent needs of a family. In a Special Study of Racial Discrimination in the Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Spheres, published by the UN in 1967, it is stated in paragraph 317 that the government's agriculture policy favours the white farmer, that the development schemes for agriculture are aimed at increasing white farmers' productivity. After all it cannot be an objective of the South African government to create efficient agricultural enterprises in the Reserves, as this would remove the economic constraint for migratory work in the border industries.

At present, about three million Africans are living on so-called white farms; 1.5 million of them are workers, the rest are relatives. Of these 1.5 million labourers, an estimated 720,000 are permanent farm workers, 670,000 are seasonal workers, and 125,000 are domestic servants. Their wages are extraordinarily low, although their working hours are much higher than in industry. According to Margaret Roberts, their daily working hours (without rest periods) are 12.5 in summer and 9 in winter. They have no right to vacations which are granted only in exceptional cases. According to data provided by the Department of Agriculture, an African farm worker in NW-Transvaal receives R 82 annually, including agricultural products. According to the same source, the income of an African family on a white farm in the

central region of the Orange Free State amounts to an average of R 352 annually and in the Eastern Cape to R 214.

As the earning facilities are better in the industrial areas, many farm workers attempt to move there. This trend of migration has been intensified by an amendment to the Bantu Trust and Land Act in 1964. This amendment has the purpose of removing the system of tenant farming, which in the past still existed in Natal and Transvaal.

In the past also, Africans were allowed to do farming in "white" areas on the basis of the system of tenant farming.

After its abolishment, the tenant farmers have become more farm-hands of white farmers. At the same time those relatives who are unable to work are to be sent into the "reserves". The tenant who so far has worked together with his family thus becomes a migratory worker.

Like the processing industry and mining in South Africa agriculture, too, has continually increased production during the past decades. Due to availability of cheap labour, mechanization in agriculture played only a subordinate role. As there is hardly any incentive for the Africans to work under such bad conditions in agriculture, there is a constant shortage of labour in agriculture. True, the state supports the white farmers by placing prisoners at their disposal. For many decades, prisoners' work has been an additional source of profit for the big farmers, but in recent years the farmers have kept complaining that the state and not the farmers profited from prisoners' work. The M. P., van den Berg, appealed to the Justice Minister in Parliament in 1967 that the fees for prisoners which the state asked from the farmers should be reduced.

Regarding socio-economic conditions, there are considerable differences between the South African Republic and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) on the one hand, and the situation in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique on the other. These two big territories, which enjoy abundant natural resources, are still colonies in the traditional sense of the word. They are used for exploitation of raw materials, as markets for finished products and for the export of capital. And yet, in these two colonies too there are tendencies to change this pattern. This is above all evidenced by the increasingly close relations with South Africa and Rhodesia.

An important component of the exploitation of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique is their slowly beginning integration into the economy of the South African Republic, of South West Africa and of Rhodesia. On the basis of their common targets in the struggle against the African liberation movement, through their geographical situation and specific economic conditions, common interests exist between the Portuguese colonialists, the representatives of international finance capital, and the South African and Rhodesian racists. As a result co-operation between the ruling circles in South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal has been developing on the basis of their common reactionary interests.

With the agreement of the Portuguese colonialists, the South African and Rhodesian racists thus consider the Portuguese colonies their man-power reservoir.

Apart from Angola's and Mozambique's function as supplyers of man-power for the mines in South Africa and Zimbabwe, a process of economic integration of these Portuguese colonies into the economy of the South African Republic and Rhodesia has recently become increasingly evident. Symptoms of this development are, among other things, measures concerning infra-structure, which are a necessary initial condition of integration. The Portuguese colonies' orientation toward South Africa is to some extent also proof of Portugal's weakness, however. Another fact evidencing the weakness of Portuguese colonialism is its demagogic policy of "racial integration", of propagandistically proclaiming an equality of races; this "assimilation policy" is seemingly opposed to the apartheid policy pursued in the South African Republic and in Zimbabwe in all spheres of social life.

It is significant, however, that the Portuguese constitution guaranteed formal equality only to those Africans who achieved the status of "assimilado". To become an "assimilado" the African living in the Portuguese colonies has to have a command of the Portuguese language, has to become Catholic, and lead a "Portuguese way of life". As laid down in the constitution, such an African would have to prove his assimilation into "Portuguese civilization", unconditionally adhere to the Portuguese colonial rule, demonstrate loyalty to Portugal during military service, i.e. to have fought against the liberation movement of his oppressed and exploited African brothers, and would have to own a certain amount of property. The fact that by 1961 not even one per cent of the African population of Angola and Mozambique accomplished the status of "assimilado" and subsequently formal equality, proves, on the one hand, that only an insignificant number of Africans allowed themselves to be corrupted, and on the other hand clearly shows the contradiction between the proclaimed policy of racial equality and its implementation.

In actual fact, the Portuguese colonialists practise discrimination which is in no way less ferocious than that of Vorster's apartheid. In the Portuguese colonies, just as in Zimbabwe and South Africa, the racial barriers are basically tantamount to social-economic barriers. But because of the weakness of Portuguese colonialism and of the dynamic force of the liberation movements of the African people in the Portuguese colonies, Portuguese colonialism has to conceal its colonial terror behind such assimilation propaganda. Because of this and, in particular, because of the tempestuous growth of the liberation movement Portugal was obliged to abolish the old statute for the local population and replace it by a new assimilation system on the basis of which all citizens of Angola and Mozambique are citizens enjoying full equality. This purely formal change, the same as the fact that in 1951 all Portuguese colonies were declared overseas provinces of Portugal, is designed to divert attention from Portuguese colonialism, from the brutal exploitation and oppression, and to prevent the progressive forces in the world from taking action against the Portuguese colonial system. The new "assimilation system" has changed nothing in the structure and in the nature of Portuguese colonialism. Despite all formal manoeuvres, the position of the Africans in Angola and Mozambique is still characterized by a high degree of exploitation, oppression and discrimination evidenced among other things by the continued practice of forced labour, although this is formally prohibited by law. The decree No. 44,309, passed in the spring of 1962, guaranteed equal treatment of all workers "irrespective of race, tribe, cultural level and degree of civilization. Compulsion to

work by applying any form of force is not permissible. In the case of non-compliance with a labour contract penal sanctions no longer exist."

By means of a poll-tax and other taxes the Africans are, however, forced to consent to some form of special exploitation. Through discriminating credit rates, small African tenants become slave-like debtors of the companies. The latter takes full advantage of this situation to intensify their exploitation. Other Africans in the Portuguese colonies have to take up work on the plantations, in the mines or in the few factories of the processing industry or hire themselves out as contract workers to the South Africans Republic. African migratory workers in search of work are arrested and sentenced to forced labour. They have to do extremely hard work under inhuman conditions and for extremely low wages.

On the plantations in Mozambique, an African farmhand receives between 3 to 4.5 Escudos for 12 to 14 hours of work (1 Escudo = 14 marks). Similar figures apply to the wages of African plantation workers in Angola where a maximum of 200 Escudos a month is paid. Forced labour on road work gets paid 400 to 700 Escudos for six months which comes to about 2.8 to 4.5 Escudos a day.

Comparing these wages with the prices of some foodstuffs, the extremely high degree of exploitation becomes evident. In Lourenco Marques in 1964, sugar cost 4.10 Escudos for 1 kilogramme, rice 6 Escudos for 1 kilogramme and bread 4.70 Escudos for 1 kilogramme. These prices in Lourenco Marques are not in the least higher than those in other parts of the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. In the rural areas the situation of the Africans is even worse because there they are at the mercy of the unrestricted monopoly of an imperialist trade company. For some time already the colonial statistical bureau has not released the wage statistics, which in any case are always manipulated. A comparison with the pay of white workers shows the discrimination of the African workers. The white workers hold the qualified positions in the production process, but only a few Africans succeed in gaining at least some qualification and in finding adequate jobs. In Mozambique in the middle of 1966, a skilled white industrial worker earned at least 2,500 Escudos per month, an unskilled, that is to say an African worker, only 350 to 550 Escudos per month. For the same work, the white worker is paid a five times higher wage than the African worker. In agriculture a white worker earns at least 2,250 Escudos a month.

In Angola, white workers earn some 3,900 Escudos a month. Comparing this with the wages paid to African workers, the discrimination prevailing also in the wage system becomes evident. Because of the fact that the Portuguese colonies are economically underdeveloped, the white workers there as well are getting a lower average real wage than white workers in the South African Republic. Discrimination against African workers is, however, comparable to that in South Africa. Taking also into consideration the social position of Africans in the production process in Mozambique and Angola, for example the use of corporal punishment for minor offences, and forced labour or deportation to concentration camps, the demagogy of the widely propagated assimilation policy in Portugal becomes obvious.

The considerable extent of forced labour induced Basil Davidson to state that, in Angola today, there are more slaves than half a century ago. It is in fact this forced labour which makes a formal comparison between the wages of white and black workers by itself very little indicative of the degree of oppression and exploitation of the African population determines the nature of Portuguese colonial exploitation. The corruption of the white settlers, themselves increasingly undergoing a process of social differentiation, is an important mainstay of Portuguese colonialism. The main imperialist powers which are interested in the exploitation of the Portuguese colonies support Portuguese colonial terror politically, ideologically, economically and militarily.

A special role among the imperialist advocates of Portuguese colonial policy is played by West Germany. According to the West German paper "Westfälische Rundschau" there exist no racial barriers in the Portuguese colonies, "black and white are working together harmoniously in the interests of economic development. The indigenous tribes are in favour of the Portuguese' presence in Africa because they guarantee them modest prosperity". So much for the Westfälische Rundschau. It is a question of painting for the West German population a distorted picture of the Portuguese colonies, in order to present the West German monopolies, which come to the colonies as exploiters, as the ones assisting development there. The extent of agreement prevailing between the ruling circles in Portugal and the West German monopolies was manifested in 1966 by the Portuguese Foreign Minister Franco Nogueira when he said in the Neue Ruhr Zeitung, "I met with very much understanding for our Africa policy in West German economic, industrial and financial circles."

In conclusion I should like to stress once again that, in Southern Africa, one must speak of colonial exploitation, yes, even of a system of colonial exploitation. This is true notwithstanding the existence of a well-developed industrial and agrarian state, namely the South African Republic. By colonial exploitation we understand the plundering of the people of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. The target of colonial exploitation is to make monopolist super-profits, that is to say colonial profits. Now, the South African Republic is a sovereign state and yet the majority of its population is still living under colonial conditions. The racial discrimination which already existed under British colonial rule and which was demonstrated by under-paying those discriminated against, has, under the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, been developed into a system of colonial exploitation with government-fixed wages and working hours, with compulsory labour, with vocational restrictions, pass laws etc. Characteristics of this colonial exploitation system are all measures evidencing non-economic pressure. And it is the widely applied non-economic pressure which allows such high profits in South Africa, because the bourgeoisie through this pressure is put in a position to pocket parts of the necessary product, apart from the surplus product. It is however only possible to apply non-economic pressure so extensively because the ruling fascist government brutally suppresses the working people of the country, and incessantly threatens the vanguard of the working class –the Communist Party–with imprisonment and death.

The monopoly bourgeoisie ruling in the Republic of South Africa does not only exploit the working people in their own country. On the basis of their economic superiority and the aid extended to them by Britain in

South West Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, as well as aid by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, they exploit the working people of those countries. Although Botswana and Lesotho are sovereign states and Swaziland as well will become independent this year, the South African monopoly bourgeoisie continues to exploit the citizens of those countries. This exploitation takes place mainly in the form of recruiting labour away from these countries.

If Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland wished to become economically independent of South Africa, they would have to develop their own tariff systems, their own currencies and their own financial systems. They would have to build up industrial branches and make jobs available in other fields of the national economy. All in all an extremely difficult task for those countries, the economic development of which was intentionally curtailed by the British colonial rulers in the interests of the mining monopolies and big landowners in South Africa.

The reason for the fact why backward Portugal is able to maintain such a huge colonial empire by way of the classical method of direct political oppression through its colonial apparatus of force, that it can today still apply the methods of non-economic pressure to exploit the African people, lies above all in its economic weakness. Portugal itself is a semi-colony. Its own economic weakness forced Portugal fairly early to introduce some elements of collective colonialism into its colonial system –a process which is essentially characteristic of neo-colonialism.

In this way fascist Portugal was able to arouse the main imperialist powers' interest in the maintenance of the direct colonial status of its African colonies, by guaranteeing international monopoly capital an appropriate share of the colonial super-profits. This opportunity to take part in the exploitation and consequently in the brutal oppression of the Portuguese colonies, is taken advantage of by foreign finance capital, not only for economic considerations but also for strategic reasons.

We know that neither the Vorster regime nor the Smith regime nor for that matter the Portuguese colonial rulers will be able to stop the course of history. This means that all forms of exploitation will ultimately be uprooted. It is the historic task of the Southern African working class together with all the other working people to remove the exploiting capitalist states. But this cannot be achieved without hard struggles. In this struggle, they can be sure of the socialist countries, of the African countries and of all progressive people throughout the world.

J. ARAÚJO, PAIGC

Dear Friends and Comrades,

Our Conference is on a subject which, according to its formulation, appears to be limited to a certain geographical area of Africa. However, it is fully clear to us – this has also been declared by previous speakers – that the significance of the struggle against colonialism and racism in South Africa and against the neo-colonialist targets of imperialism in this specific area widely exceeds the geographical limits of this part of Africa and has become a major problem for the whole of Africa. Moreover, this struggle, as one of the aspects of the present confrontation of the forces of freedom, progress and peace with the forces of reaction grouped around imperialism, is a struggle of the whole of humanity whose efforts for a world of happiness, fraternity and cooperation mobilise the sane forces of all peoples.

We, the people of so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, are affected by the problems of deals between world imperialism and the racist and colonialist regime in South Africa in a double sense – as human beings, i.e. as a part of humanity which loves liberty and progress, and as Africans, i.e. as integrated members of a community which has been brutally exploited by colonialism and imperialism for centuries and whose progress on the road to totally regaining their freedom is directly threatened by the conspiracy schemed in South Africa.

A further point of view must be added to these two, which results from our position as direct victims of Portuguese colonialism, a pillar of imperialist strategy in Southern Africa where it is represented by the two large colonies Angola and Mozambique. Indeed, the attempts of the rulers in Portugal to give a theoretical substantiation in order to evade their international obligations as administrators of colonial areas do not differentiate between the geographical zones in which Portuguese colonialism is installed and operates. As with Angola and Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands are represented to the world as overseas provinces which are completely integrated in the "Portuguese national entity", and thus receive the benefit of all prerogatives of independence and sovereignty. This means that Portuguese colonialism pretends to be an indivisible entity. And that is why all causes determining its policy in Southern Africa, all support and assistance it receives in the area on account of the interests it represents, are of essential significance for its attitude towards the struggle we are leading for the liberation of our country.

Since five years our people have been carrying out a persevering armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism under the leadership of their party, the PAIGC. This struggle, which like all others had its ups and downs, has in the meantime succeeded (on account of several factors, the most important being no doubt the existence of a correct leadership), in making further progress on the road to victory. It proved itself able at every stage not only to create the necessary conditions for the consolidation of the gains made during the previous stages, but also for its further development. It can be stated that today Portuguese colonialism is in the main eliminated as a form of economic exploitation in our country.

The Portuguese colonialists have to put up with defeats every day in the military field. The plans carefully elaborated by successive military staffs in Bissao during the last years, the steady increase in the military forces engaged (which today number 35,000 soldiers for a population of 800,000), their possession of most murderous arms which are continuously perfected, the escalation of suppression,–none has stopped the progress of the struggle, but has on the contrary promoted it, above all because of all those who joined the struggle who at first did not believe that we would be able to defeat a fierce and unscrupulous enemy by the only means at our disposal, by armed struggle.

Those who forget the uniform and indivisible character of Portuguese colonial doctrine may be surprised

that the Portuguese colonialists engage in a war which involves high losses in material and human lives, a war which they know is already lost, and that they are doing all this in a country where they have no more economic interests to defend. A certain group which showed up within the Portuguese military staff a short time ago forgot this character, by the way. It proposed abandoning Guinea in order to concentrate the Portuguese military potential in the colonies in Southern Africa, where greater interests are justifying military efforts and where at the same time greater defence facilities would be available on account of support from the forces at present in this area. Thus the colonial war in Angola and Mozambique would be more practicable and productive and thus more effective than in Guinea.

We know, however, that this group has not yet carried its point, although it still gives signs of life. We are able to state that it has no prospects. This is proven by the fact that a new tendency is developing in the same military staff, which, in view of the growing difficulties of the colonial army, proposes a strategic withdrawal to the Islands as a solution, in order to start operations of mass annihilation and destruction, which would be impossible at the moment on account of the maintenance of isolated outposts in the interior of the country.

Instead of considering the cessation of the war, it seems as if a tendency towards its intensification will be enforced in the near future, which would find its expression in an increase in the genocidal character of the war.

In view of this plan, whose monstrosity is still further increased by the certainty that no economic reason exists for the presence of Portugal in Guinea, and which is at the same time proof that the Portuguese colonialists are prepared to go to extremes even under the danger of a military catastrophe, the urgent question arises as to what the true reasons are for the continuation of the Portuguese colonial war in our country.

As we have stated, the Portuguese colonial doctrine is an indivisible entity. Surely it is not in an effort for theoretical coherence that those Portuguese in responsible positions continually refuse to accept a realistic solution to the problems with which they are confronted in our country. Indeed, the present Portuguese colonial doctrine is not the only one in the long history of Portuguese colonialism. It followed many other doctrines which arose in every epoch from the endeavour to adapt the interests of exploitation to the various local and external factors of the respective epoch. In other words, the Portuguese colonialists, who were able to work out the theory of actual and legal equality of all inhabitants in the territories where Portuguese rule is exercised, would surely also be in a position to formulate a new theory adapted to the changed situation, and which would propose abandoning part of the territory ruled over.

As the effort for coherence and the fear of exposure to ridicule are excluded, there remains the question as to what the interests of Portuguese colonialism are in our country at present.

Several reasons could be mentioned, both of a psychological nature and also in connection with its external prestige, and no doubt many more whose analysis would go beyond the specific range of problems with which our Conference deals. But one thing is of special interest to us here, which, incidentally, the Portuguese in responsible positions speak about repeatedly. In order to increase the participation of their allies in the war in our country, the Portuguese rulers stress the strategic importance of a Western presence in West Africa for the defence of the so-called Cape route, and also the importance of a logistics base in that area serving the requirements of imperialist strategy in Southern Africa. And in this connection we poor relatives of the Portuguese colonialists gained a very special significance. An airbase set up on the island of Sal was built specifically for the airlines of Southern Africa, thus creating a quick connection with the outer world for this island.

The port of Sao Vicente, which had long fallen into oblivion, is also regaining the significance it had before the Second World War.

Dear Friends and Comrades,

The reasons we have just mentioned make more obvious the basis of the fighting solidarity which unites us with the liberation movements in Southern Africa. A further factor, which is of major importance, is based on the fact that our comrades in Angola, Mozambique and we ourselves are confronted by the same enemy, Portuguese colonialism.

These reasons explain our presence and participation in this Conference, at which we want once more to express our solidarity with our fighting brothers in Angola, South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South West Africa.

R. ARNOLD (G.D.R.)

Literary Aspects of the Struggle against Apartheid

The literary horizon in South Africa is as darkened by the fascist racial policy as all other aspects of social and cultural life. In sharp contrast to the literary apologists of the regime, who are of no interest here, the history of South African literature is showing increasing outlines criticising and condemning race separation. This and–of course–the rich literary legacy of the African peoples living on South African territory is the basis of today's modern, humanist literature of South Africa.

English, or Anglo-South African authors, use African people and their living conditions and habits as background and colouring for their works. This literature fully maintains the point of view of European colonial power, although here and there the social and human conscience of the authors is touched. This type of literature still exists in England and in South Africa, although it flourished mainly in the period before World War II. This literature contaminated the young generation with chauvinist and colonialist ideas, taking advantage of their ideas of adventure in distant lands.

Typical protagonists of this attitude are people like Roy Campbell (1901–1957), Sir H. Rider Haggard (1856 to 1925), Stuart Cloete (born 1897).

The literary works of the Sotho, Zulu and others which emerged towards the end of the 19th century are the result of a renewed consciousness of the rich cultural traditions of the Africans, and in a way a reaction to and resistance against colonialism. Names like Mofolo, Sekese, Segoete and others are symbols of a cultural renaissance which, in spite of its formal clinging to European models and partly using their linguistic media, show the awakening of a new consciousness of African cultural values. Sekese's most important work, the "Book of Tales on the

Meeting of the Birds and the Lawsuit between Sefofu and Seritsa," for instance, in all its colour based on intimate knowledge of the life of the Sotho, is as fascinating for today's generation as it was for his contemporaries.

Following the consolidation of white domination this so-called "pupil's literature" (a prejudiced and unscientific term) became the foundation of the rise and growth of new starting-points for the survival and development of African culture.

Prof. Dube, Herbert and R.R.R. Dube, B. Vilakazi and many others link this literary past with the literary elite that today represents a new South Africa in the world: Abrahams, Mphahlele, Nkosi, Brutus, La Guma, Rive and many others.

It goes without saying that most of these authors are exiled and others condemned to silence. Not a few of them are politically engaged, some being functionaries in the ANC. We were and are witnesses of an exciting process: the beginning of a national culture of South Africa, as a protest against the existing political structures, constituted in exile.

This is a phenomenon observed also in other countries: in Germany in the thirties, in Spain and in Portugal after the establishment of fascist dictatorships. The better part of the nation rises to answer violence and contempt of the people; an intellectual rise gives birth to a new humanism which finds its eloquent expression in art and literature.

This also answers the question concerning South African literature: there are two South African literatures. One of them is the expression of the ruling minority and their ideology, the other, with which we concern ourselves and which is supported by all progressive people, is represented by African authors but also by a number of Europeans like Nadine Gordimer, Olive Schreiner and Alan Paton. To all of them the distressing situation in South Africa became the point of departure for a new humanist and realist literature. They come from the social, cultural and psychological environment of South Africa. In spite of all possible differences in background, ideological and aesthetic convictions, they are forming the South Africa literature.

The central event for modern South African literature, fascist racial segregation and its effects on the individual and society is naturally reflected in many variations in the different works.

Characteristic of a number of South African authors of European origin, critical of the regime, is their basic Christian-philanthropic attitude, supported by some sections of the Anglican and Catholic churches, an outlook based on the ideas of a past liberalism, the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity of all people.

That such concepts are allowed very little play is proved by the obstacles and limitations imposed on the books as well as their authors. Alan Paton, one of the most prominent writers in South Africa, and closely connected to the outlook sketched above, was deprived of his passport. His books are mainly published abroad.

The same goes for another group of writers, mostly non-white, whose aesthetic and ideological background is similar to that outlined above, but who are quite evidently linked to African traditions.

One of their most prominent representatives, Richard Moore Rive, defined the scope open to these writers as follows: "Although it can be assumed that my writings aim at a criticism of the South African regime, I do not consider myself a propagandist. I write mainly on the basis of my personal and locally acquired experiences and deal rather with the description of characteristic features than with determined situation."[1] (Retranslated from German)

There certainly is criticism, but the author has to assume an innocent air in an attempt to secure the necessary requirements for his work. It is noteworthy and significant that the short story is the literary form preferred and masterfully used by Rive and other authors living in South Africa, while the large evolutionary and social novels by Abrahams, La Guma and others are all written and published abroad.

Since the sixties there has been a great change in South African literature. While up to that time autobiographies as a means of intellectual self-liberation were permissible to a certain extent, as long as they confined themselves to mere description, the accent is now changing in favour of real fiction in the sense of humanism.

The specific political and social situation in the South African Republic compels literary talent, where it is not already exiled, to deal with the great problems of the country only in a disguised form. We can be certain that the regime has further far-reaching aims concerning literature.

What is generally allowed are simple literary works without social or political ambitions. Efforts are made –without the least result–to silence the voices of humanist writers of the South African Republic, to confine literature to plain entertainment.

A survey of the UNESCO states to this effect: "The exciting, the romantic and sensational are for them flights from the world of poverty."[2]

A short story by the mentioned writer and poet R. M. Rive, "African Song," written in the fifties, gives a strange reflection of the glamour and misery of South African literature. While a first-rate work of art, it lacks all realistic consequence guiding to action. Rive writes on this story: "My short story "African Song" is probably the only apocalyptic story in which I try–seen through the eyes of the African Muti–to present a wonderful vision of the past, present and future. The meeting and even the temporary attack are incidental; important and full of life are only Muti's visions. The song "Nkosi Sikelel' i' Afrika" I told because of its beauty and simplicity; it reflects more than all other peoples' songs the spirit of new Africa which is able to embrace us all, regardless of the colour of our skins."[3]

The hymn of the non-white inhabitants of South Africa, this same "Nkosi Sikelel' i' Africa", originally composed for a Shanga consecration, evokes in its confrontation with the attacking police a breaking of the fear complex and awakens Muti's consciousness of his and his people's past in this village still bound to tribal traditions, awakens his decision to leave the soil "which does not give much," leads him to disputes with the white authorities over a pass which, in the end, he does not get.

Muti's consciousness reflects two possibilities for the future of the country he loves: an idyllic and idealised community of all races, or a South Africa where the whites have been driven away and the black man has

1 Afrika heute (Africa Today), literary supplement, 22/1963, p. IV

2 Report of the United Nations on Education, Science and Culture, of January 18, 1967. "Science and Peace", October/December 1967, p. 15

3 Afrika heute, as above

taken the place of the white oppressors. Sorrow and grief are lifted by the hymn: "He lets us see a great light, that people may be better." Certain of being arrested, because he has no pass, there is at the same time triumph over reality: Nkosi sikelel' i' Africa!

Rive leads his hero from fear to understanding of himself and the strength of the Africans, if they are united. What unifies them is, symbolically, the hymn of the freedom movement. Although the hero finds his way to the recognition of solidarity, the story gives no hint of the united liberating action: the central figure remains passive.

This shows the limits of a whole literary trend. In exile a resistance literature is taking shape (Kunene, Nkosi, Makiwane, La Guma, Brutus and others), more consequent and conscious than that of the fifties. We are witnessing the foundation of a progressive, democratic and humanist national literature of South Africa.

Rive still tried to set a "real" christianity against the oppressors which, within historical limits, could be some sort of uniting link for resistance and which converged with the slogan of passive resistance.

Since then the political and material conditions of the struggle have changed. While in the fifties and early sixties actions of passive resistance seemed promising, the progressive intellect has now to recognize the changed circumstances. For the field of literature these changed conditions were analysed in the document presented by the South African delegation at the 1967 Afro-Asian Writers' Conference in Beirut. It states:

"The literature of resistance has begun in earnest in South Africa, reflecting the new values of revolution and resistance. Some of it is being clandestinely distributed in the country, or recited in the camps and prisons like Robben Island. As our resistance grows more powerful so shall the output of our literature be. We intend to use everything at our disposal to win our freedom, and literature must, in our interpretation, define the very depths of our revolutionary action."[4]

We have nothing to add: progressive culture under the existing conditions can be nothing but an aspect of the struggle, a means of the struggle.

BABIC, YUGOSLAVIA

Allow me, in the first place, on behalf of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of the Peoples, and the Socialist Workers' League of Yugoslavia, to thank the organisers for the invitation to this Conference. We consider this meeting a useful initiative and an important effort to attract attention once more to the difficult and dangerous situation created by racist and neo-colonialist politics in Africa. We are also convinced that the results of this assembly will contribute to a more complete assessment of these policies and will give new encouragement to the progressive, peace-loving and democratic forces in their efforts to bring this menacing problem to a rapid and radical settlement. We express our hope that this Conference will prove of assistance to the states and peoples of Africa in their struggle for freedom and their inalienable rights.

There is every reason to be seriously alarmed at the present situation in the south of the African continent. I do not intend to analyse in detail the various negative aspects of the policy of racial discrimination and the neo-colonialist manifestations against numerous African countries, and the dangerous consequences of this situation. My aim is to direct the attention of this meeting to certain elements which are of importance for the topics we are dealing with and the questions raised at this point in political development.

The climate and the situation created in South Africa not only constitute an unbearable form of oppression of the peoples of that part of the world, but also an increasing threat for the African countries, for their independence and their development. It is evident that the evolvement of armed conflict, which is the brutal reality for South Africa, will not remain limited to that territory but will have powerful international repercussions. The absense of effective international action and the failure to apply the numerous decisions and commitments adopted by the United Nations Organisation have encouraged the minority regimes to become even more aggressive and insatiable. They are not only a menace to the majority of the population in the South African Republic, South West Africa, Rhodesia, Angola or Mozambique, but also seriously imperil the independent neighbour states. The intention of the minority governments to transform South Africa into a mainstay of white domination and racial segregation is evident. This, at the present moment, is the main effort in their struggle to perpetuate their existence. The ever-increasing application of the provisions of the political and military alliance of South Africa-Rhodesia-Portugal clearly shows their intention to oppose by any means the democratic strivings of the peoples. Furthermore, there are clear signs of an organic merger of these three regimes into a united system, which in Southern Africa would mean a barrier against the progressive movements and a focus of fascist-colonialist action against the achievements of the anti-colonial revolution. This is the unavoidable conclusion drawn from the fact that these three regimes are united by a common ideology, by identical economic aims and similar political, economic and military structures. An analysis of the international political and legal situation of these three countries, particularly the South African Republic and Rhodesia, and the decisive influence South Africa has in this alliance, confirms these appraisals. This development makes the situation in these countries and in the entire region even more explosive, where the accumulated tension between the races is turning into bloody conflict.

As a logical consequence of this policy, the whole region has become in fact a war arsenal, where more than 120,000 Portuguese soldiers with Atlantic Treaty weapons, and the modern and well-trained white army of Rhodesia, are stationed alongside the largest war power in Africa, the South African Republic, whose military budget amounted to 358 million dollars in 1967. Although this immense military force is still fully engaged in the struggle against the ever-growing liberation movements of the African people, it is also directed against the independent African states. The constant violation of borders, the bombing of villages, sabotage and espionage against the independent neighbouring countries, testify to the serious menace hanging over them. The participation of the South African regime's armed forces in the fighting in Rhodesia anticipate the threat yet to come.

4 Sechaba, vol. 1, No. 7/1967, p. 18

This shameless attitude of the anti-African minority regimes is the logical expression of their efforts to apply their racist concepts at any cost. In spite of all their efforts to mislead world public opinion–in which they are supported by certain Western powers–and to persuade the world that they are making reforms and "easing up" on certain inflexible ordnances such as the creation of "Bantustans" in South Africa, it can be stated that all their efforts are aimed at degrading and exploiting the African population and totally depriving them of their basic political, economic and civil rights. Every day new laws are enacted to prevent or limit even the least of economic or social activities of Africans in order to keep them as cheap labour. The latest laws in the South African Republic (General Law Amendment Acts, Criminal Procedures Amendment Act of 1965) and in Rhodesia (Unlawful Organisations Act, Preventive Detention Act and Law and Order Maintenance Act) only aggravate the situation of slavery for the Africans, who are in fact condemned to gradual bodily removal in terms of a whole string of laws in the economic field. The system of the "Bantustans", in fact, serves the same purpose, considering that they comprise only 13 % of the land, where 13 million inhabitants must live, while the remaining 87 % is reserved for three million whites. The situation is almost the same in Angola, in Mozambique and in South West Africa, while in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) half of the country is in the hands of the white population. This monstrous racial discrimination has reached a point where it cannot be eliminated without destroying the whole political structure of the country. This all the more since the strategy of the "Bantustans" is trying to spread beyond its present limits and demonstrates every characteristic of neo-colonialist domination.

The fact that the racist governments try so obstinately to maintain their position is not and cannot be the consequence of their own strength. The grounds for it are the presence of, and the ever-increasing support from foreign capital and foreign colonial interests. In fact, certain industrial western countries, particularly the USA, Great Britain, West Germany, France and Japan, support these regimes by increasing investments and trade. The facts are too well known to be contested. The stage has been reached where third countries are included in the conflict between oppressed and oppressors. This, due to the character of foreign engagement, reduces still further the possibility of finding real solutions. The United Nations documents on foreign investments in South Africa show that 75 % of foreign investments in that country in 1965 were British and American (2/3 from Great Britain and 12 % from the USA). Direct investments from the USA amounted to 528 million dollars. Although this amount represents only 11 % of total USA foreign investments, it represents 30 % of all USA investments in Africa. British direct investments are almost twice as high, amounting to 900 million dollars. It should be mentioned that the interest rate is particularly high. Great Britain, for instance, collected more than 200 million dollars in interest on capital invested in the South African Republic. Investments by other countries are also large: French and Swiss interests represent 10 % of all foreign investments in South Africa.

In addition to these investments and the well-developed trade, there is increasing military cooperation and support for the racist governments by certain western countries, especially West Germany, whose aid to South Africa in the nuclear sphere represents a special danger. As can be seen, the element of the foreign presence is so important that is has become a shield for the racist regimes. It strengthens their material basis and becomes an accessory to their policy. The investors are interested in strengthening the racist-fascist regimes and their policy because of their long-term investments.

Destructive in its political content, unstable in its economic structure and deeply inhuman in its social essence, the phenomenon of racism is developing into a dangerous expansionist force. In the complexity of interests and plans, these regimes have also become, in the political-military sense, an instrument of the global strategy of the imperialist powers. They increasingly act as the advocates and executors of neo-colonialist policies towards other independent African states, with the aim of preventing or impeding their emancipation and political and economic consolidation. They furthermore try to prevent these countries from strengthening their material basis and advancing along the road to overcoming foreign domination through the consolidation and harmonisation of their internal relations. This is a new, alarming aspect of the race phenomenon in the South, which is not unknown but which, due to its increasingly aggressive and arrogant character, seriously aggravates the situation in the continent. This policy of the Western powers and their attitude is inexcusable. Even if it cannot be said that the ideology of certain Western powers is identical with that of the racist regimes, it is still true that they have the same economic, military and political aims. Their inexcusability is even more so since the world, and particularly Europe, cannot remain indifferent to the reappearance of nazism and fascism in the south of the continent. This holds specially true for Europe because of the bitter experience it had with the Hitler regime and because of its obligations towards Africa and its peoples, who expect honest repayment of a centuries-old debt.

It is therefore evident that constant efforts must be made to support all measures and actions which help to settle this problem. For this reason we consider that the recommendations of the UN International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa, held in Zambia in June 1967, are particularly useful. We support these and other well-known UNO decisions and consider that in such a complex question the world organisation cannot renounce its rights and obligations and cannot deceive the hopes that all freedom-loving and democratic states, particularly the small countries, have placed in it. The UN must live up to its Charter and its tasks, especially in view of the fact that certain big powers increasingly tend to deny that the UN has a role in this and other questions. In supporting the actions of the UN, according to the social and political nature of my country and our conception of international relations and the role of the UN, I also wish to stress how necessary and important it is to fully and extensively support the national liberation movements, whose just and legitimate struggle increasingly assumes the proportions of a social and national revolution. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality of the Peoples, supports the liberation movements, fully conscious of the period in which these struggles take place and of the correctness of this most difficult form of struggle (the only possible form), of its significance and complex meaning in the present inter-

national conditions. Knowing the forces they oppose and the aims they are striving for, we believe their struggle to be part of the general progressive evolution which has transformed the age we are living in, and which greatly contributes to the liberation and affirmation of the human character. It emerges as an active form of anti-imperialist resistance and is part of the world-wide anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movement. This determines our attitude towards the national liberation movement as against racist and neo-colonialist policies.

A. BABING (G.D.R.)

The Development of the Racist Ruling System from 1948 to 1965/66

The seizure of power by the Boer nationalists in 1948 took place at the same time as the victory of those forces within the Nationalist Party that had been pushing the apartheid line for many years. They represented the interests of the most reactionary groups of the Boer bourgeoisie, and were in favour of an overall racist regime which would involve all aspects of life in the country, following the example of the fascist plans of Hitler Germany, which had been studied by leading nationalists, among them Verwoerd and others.

That is why the elections were a decision for an apartheid policy without any compromises; for which Prime Minister Strijdom set the following aim: "In every field, the Europeans must hold the right to rule the country and to maintain it as a country of the white man."

In this connection it was decisive that the ruling groups within the Nationalist Party, on the basis of their apartheid policy, established a racist control system which legally cemented all Non-Whites into limitless economic exploitation, deprivation of political rights, and suppression; and guaranteed all this by means of a police and military state.

The South African writer Brian Bunting, who is living in exile, called the South African apartheid laws "Nuremberg laws", to indicate that today every Non-White is exposed to prosecution and persecution, as victims of racist legislation, similar to that suffered during Hitler's dictatorship.

In doing so, Bunting really found a striking comparison.

The apartheid laws are the "legal" basis of that lawless governing system; and from 1948 to the mid-sixties, this system was effectively and consistently perfected.

More than 80 laws, supplements to laws and amendments have been passed to accomplish the apartheid policy. One sees the following tendencies in the development of the racist regime:

1) economic discrimination and exploitation
2) deprivation of political rights
3) race discrimination
4) discrimination in education and training
5) social discrimination.

All facets of discrimination are expressed or aimed at in the numerous laws and decress, and in the whole period hardly a session of Parliament has gone by without adding in some way to this, either in discussion or in the passing of further Bills.

During this period also, all legal means for Non-Whites to protest against or criticize the apartheid policy of the government, have been systematically abolished.

Economic discrimination and exploitation have been particularly extended in the period in question. It was based on laws and decrees passed as long ago as 1911, whose kernel was the so-called industrial colour bar. The Bills passed after 1948 really point to the fact that the exploitation of the Non-Whites is directed and organized "at the command of the state". In the final analysis, nevertheless, they all are means of the supra-economic compulsion to intensify exploitation and increase at the same time the profits of the monopolies. Among these are decrees which created the Labour Exchange, the pass laws, the prohibition of any strike, the intensification of the industrial colour bar, and last but not least the expulsion of Africans from the territories reserved exclusively for Whites, into the compulsory "reserves". Social and political discriminations are connected with this measure too.

The developing process of race integration, caused by economic necessity, was violently suppressed by these means, and the "reserves" became sources of cheap labour for industry, agriculture and as servants for the Whites. Race legislation today has developed to such an extent that the relationship of white exploiter/Non-White exploited is seen to be intended to remain standard for all time.

Particularly characteristic of this aim are above all the legal decrees passed since 1948 depriving all Non-Whites of political rights–and all white opponents of apartheid also.

One of the most determining of the great number of laws is doubtlessly the ill-famed "Suppression of Communism Act" passed in 1950. The fundamental anti-communist attitude and hate-mongering of the ruling regime today make it possible to punish by means of sweeping measures every criticism of, nay even insufficient support for, apartheid. All beliefs except those of the government were thus declared a crime. The apartheid legislation removing political rights has thus clearly demonstrated the objective, namely the breaking of political organizations opposed to apartheid, of the communists, and of the national liberation movement, and the persecution of political isolation of all who reject apartheid on Christian, humanistic or other grounds.

The apartheid legislation depriving Non-Whites of political rights was intensified particularly after 1948.

This intensification was directed both against actions of protest and new methods of struggle and resistance, and also destined to close existing gaps. I need only mention the law of detention for 90 days and the equally notorious law for the arrest of witnesses to extort evidence.

Another main trend on which apartheid legislation concentrates is discrimination against all Non-Whites on the basis of the racist thesis of supremacy of the white race. As in the days of Hitler's fascism, this imperialist ideology has been made a doctrine of the state. The classification of people into various groups has always proved to be a mask for imperialist exploitation and suppression. The intensification of legal decrees in this range are connected with the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage in 1949, Race Classification in 1959, and the Immorality Act of 1957, just as the entrenchment of the racist regime is connected to the infamous racist tradition, cultivated for decades by the South African ruling clique.

The development of the system of apartheid was completed by the mid-sixties. By that time, the nationalists had carried through, in all fields of the state and economy, the apartheid policy as proclaimed in 1948; and at the same time they have established a terror regime in South Africa which enables them even now to suppress all internal resistance or protest against apartheid. That is why international support for the South African opponents of apartheid becomes a more and more urgent demand of the democratic world.

L. B. de LARA (MPLA)

Some Facts on the Situation in Southern Africa

The complexity of the current international situation, which is characterized by the constantly intensifying aggressiveness of imperialism, complicates the tasks of the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Despite the intensifying struggle of the exploited and oppressed people against their exploiters and oppressors, there are obstacles in the way of an early victorious end to that struggle.

Many formerly subjugated peoples have liberated themselves already, and imperialism was subsequently forced to seek new forms of domination and exploitation, not shrinking from resorting to even more barbaric forms of violence. Despite defeats imperialist aggression continues, therefore. Our world is experiencing an era of colonial wars, of the consolidation of fascist and racist regimes, of the resurgence of right-wing extremist movements, of the establishment of puppet regimes, of unabashed disregard for human rights, of armed aggression against peaceable peoples, of disregard for the United Nations Charter and other international agreements.

The war American imperialism is waging on two fronts against the heroic Vietnamese people has assumed dimensions evidencing only too clearly the criminal nature of the American war-mongers. The patriotic unselfishness of the courageous Vietnamese people in the north and in the south of that country alone could thwart the dark plans of the aggressors.

Despite the international tension which the imperialists are trying to aggravate, new forces and new potentialities are arising everywhere.

Even in the United States the struggle of the American Negro population is experiencing a new upswing which assumed additional dimensions as a result of the assassination of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King.

In Latin America, where Cuba continues to defend itself passionately against the American aggressors' blockade, the masses of the exploited proclaim their determination to frustrate the exploitation of their countries and build up social orders strong enough to resist the Americans who are robbing them of their riches.

Africa, which in the past ten years saw some thirty countries gaining independence, is at present becoming a theatre of continuous confrontations between the revolutionary forces and the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Independence was in most cases accomplished under conditions of almost complete economic dependence, the serious and harmful effects of which made themselves felt immediately. In most of the newly independent African states, new forms of imperialist exploitation developed and intensified, to the great disadvantage of the people of those countries who are forced to work for the growing dividends of the big companies which are still controlling the markets, fixing the prices and pocketing the lion's share of all profits.

Thus Africa remains the supplier of cheap raw materials and a market for the industries of the western powers.

France, Great Britain and Portugal promote the infiltration of new 'partners' in Africa, a fact which, on the Continent, resulted in new struggles for influence, for the maintenance of old positions and for the conquest of new markets.

Through huge investments, generous credits and increased, dubious technological aid, the United States and West Germany were able to expand their influence. The struggle for a new division of the African continent is becoming more and more evident every day. One after the other the African stooges are removed in the different countries and on different occasions depending on the strength of the different powers. All means are being used–scandalous corruption, threats, blackmail and war. The BBC, the Voice of America, the Voice of (West) Germany, and RTF transmit different programmes to African listeners in the eternal attempt to outdo each other.

The young African nations are still helpless vis-a-vis all of these stratagems mainly because of the difficulties of taking the management of their economy into their own hands. In their efforts to accomplish economic stability the African countries frequently fail because of involved domestic policy problems. The situation in Nigeria is an obvious example of this fact.

Over and above this the so-called economic aid of the developed countries is not, because of the unequal trading conditions, designed to correct the disproportions in the trade relations between the African countries and the western powers. This aid, in the main, means the export to the developing countries of surplus products or those which do not find other customers.

At the recent conference of the United Nations for trade and development (UNCTAD) attention was drawn to the deterioration of the critical situation resulting from the disproportionate trade relations between the so-called developed and the emergent countries. The latter are trying in vain to free themselves from the influence of the highly developed states or at least reduce this influence to a minimum. Regional groupings have been formed but the influence of one or the other economic power is still making itself felt.

The future of the whole of the African continent will be determined in Southern Africa, because a number of political, economic and social conditions resulted in the development there of a revolutionary situation which is bound to be decisive in regard to the complete emancipation of the African countries. Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Swaziland, the South African Republic and Zambia cover an area of almost six million square kilometres with some 50 million inhabitants, that is one-fifth of the population of Africa. Together with the adjoining Congo Kinshasa, Southern Africa has abundant riches from which only the big international monopolies

with their seats in Washington, Paris, London, Frankfurt-on-Main, Brussels, Rome, Tokyo, Madrid, are profiting, whereas the working people of Southern Africa are living under the most discriminating colonial and racialist laws and in many cases under conditions reminiscent of slavery. And this is the case despite the General Declaration of Human Rights and at a time when the United Nations have declared 1968 Human Rights Year.

Although Zambia has in the almost four years of its independence been advancing on a road allowing it to enjoy a privileged place among the Southern African states, its destiny remains linked with that of the other nine countries still languishing under the yoke of the white colonialists and racialists. This interconnection, which is a heavy burden on Lesotho Malawi, Botswana and Swaziland, as well as the brutal exploitation by the Portuguese ultra-colonialists and by the white racialists in the South African Republic and in Rhodesia, are having a strong effect on the entire life of Zambia. This country adjoining Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, is living under constant pressure and threats from the colonialist and racialist bloc on which it is economically dependent. The threats against Zambia do not let up. The Portuguese colonial rulers hold Zambia responsible for the acts of sabotage against the Benguela railway which that country is using for its copper transports. The Labour Minister of the illegal Ian Smith regime stated that the contruction of the Lusaka-Dar es Salaam railway with Chinese aid constitutes a threat to the colonialist-racialist bloc and should be reacted to correspondingly. The South African Defence Minister Botha threatens to open military action or sanctions against Zambia which the racialist colonial bloc accuses of harbouring patriots from Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, the South African Republic and South West Africa and allowing them free passage.

Zambia is therefore facing the dangerous hatred of the Salazar-Vorster-Smith alliance alone, since President Kaunda's appeals in the interests of a defence pact and of the establishment of a joint command with the neighbouring African states has not met with any response. The three conferences of the Central and East African countries have not succeeded in developing a system which could protect Zambia in the case of an attack from the racialists.

Bearing in mind that communicating roads to Tanzania, which is still the safest country for the outlet of Zambia's production, have not been built yet, and bearing in mind Kariba Dam on Rhodesian territory, it is understandable that most of Zambia's power supplies come from the that President Kaunda told a Times correspondent: "It is as though we were in a canoe on the Zambezi drifting with no hope of help towards the waterfall. The stream is plunging us into the danger and we do not yet know who is going to save us."

In Rhodesia, however, Finance Minister Wrathall informs "parliament" that the rate of growth of the gross national product has reached 8.6 per cent, and that the deficit in the balance of payments has been reduced to 60 per cent thanks to a considerable foreign exchange income of 9.1 million Rhodesian pounds, six million of which had been invested by South Africa. Over and above this, trade was showing a positive account balance amounting to 7 million pounds, agricultural production had increased by 5 per cent, and mining output had in the same period risen by about one million pounds. The minister added that despite sanctions a new economic upswing was expected for 1969.

Tanzania's Ambassador Malecela had declared before the United Nations as far back as November 1967, that not only the South African Republic and Portugal were responsible for the sanctions against Rhodesia remaining ineffective. He drew attention to the fact that Rhodesia's exports to the United States had increased by 5 per cent in the first three months of 1967 as compared to 1966, to Switzerland by 71 per cent in 1967, and to West Germany by 64 per cent. Trade relations with France rose by 100 per cent, with the Netherlands by 50 per cent, and with Japan by 38 per cent. In addition, information on oil supplies was given to prove that many other countries were also in favour of a boycott but were at the same time maintaining direct or indirect trade relations with the Vorster and Smith regimes.

The boycott had thus proved a bluff, perpetuating the existing situation.

The ZAPU and the ANC patriots, being fully aware of their responsibility, decided in view of the situation to take up arms, thus changing the problem. Despite immediate aid from the Vorster troops, the struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) caused a wave of panic within the racialist colonialist bloc. Ian Smith himself admitted that many colonialists abandoned their possessions when operations started.

If we think of the long discussions in UN committees and the many resolutions passed in almost a quarter of a century in connection with South West Africa, one is tempted to wish that the UN would discontinue these discussions, for this might be the only possibility to speed up the liberation of that area.

The arrogance of the Vorster regime, which is no different from that of its predecessors, is justified when taking into consideration its conviction that the UN will never take military action. As far back as in 1949 South Africa was able to violate the international agreements on South West Africa unpunished, to annex the territory as a fifth province and introduce apartheid there.

In reaction to armed action of the South West African patriots, the Vorster regime passed the Terrorism Act in 1967 under which patriots were liable to be sentenced to death when they fell into their hands.

This is evidence of the fact that the South African Republic continues to enlarge its oppressive machinery. But it is also preparing itself to keep the Southern African countries under control which it is using as stepping-stones for the domination of other already independent African countries. The theoreticians of apartheid and of the economic expansion of the South African Republic do not conceal their intentions. They are orientating towards a trade pact between South Africa, Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Under the prevailing conditions the leading role in such an economic zone will fall to the South African Republic, which is already looking as far afield as such countries as Congo-Kinshasa and Kenya, where South African capital has already been invested. Taking this aim into consideration a new plot has been hatched by the white racists in the South African Republic, designed to win the sympathy of most African states with advantageous promises and by making use of the reactionary nature of certain regimes.

The South African Republic is today the main base of imperialism in Africa, and it is even making efforts to

contest the other imperialist powers' right to certain spheres of influence. In view of their consolidated economic position the white racists of the South African Republic will not hesitate to use their military power, which they are already expanding, in a similar way to Hitler, so as to force puppet regimes upon its neighbouring countries.

Minister Botha of the South African Republic stated in a recent speech that his country was already in a position to produce all the weapons it needs. It is also well known that in the field of nuclear research the South African Republic has far advanced and is even close to producing atomic bombs.

The technological, industrial and economic developments in the South African Republic in the past few years provide fresh evidence that the boycott policy has failed. Direct foreign investments in the South African Republic in 1967 exceeded 3.479 thousand million rand (1 rand = 1.40 US dollars). The extent of foreign trade induced the Dresdner Bank to open a branch in Johannesburg.

The expansionist efforts of the Pretoria government have already resulted in some minor successes with its nervous neighbours who are afraid of being swallowed up by the economic power of the South African Republic and its Portuguese and Rhodesian allies. This also explains why the present leaders of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi have become the heralds of the expansionist aspirations of the South African Republic. Evidence of this is that Malawi, for instance, is consolidating its economic and political relations with the South African Republic and with Portugal. Within this framework mutual visits of the two Foreign Ministers in Lisbon and in Zomba have already taken place. Malawi recently negotiated over the sale of its shares in the trans-Zambian railway to Portugal for 150,000 pound sterling. Portugal on the other hand promised to extend the railway line from Nacala to the Malawi line so as to create an easier connection to the Indian Ocean. Over and above this, Malawi is going to profit from the huge Cabora-Bassa dam, which will be the biggest dam in Africa, now under construction in Mozambique (with South African capital) to ease the lack of hydropower stations supplying South African industry.

The forms of racist oppression and exploitation by the Portuguese colonialists are assuming new proportions, directed not only toward exploiting the Africans but toward attempts to make them "people on the periphery", the same as under apartheid.

Portuguese colonialism has been trying to keep the Africans away from all opportunities of development. For this reason the African population was systematically denied training, health protection and other progressive amenities. They were merely considered manpower.

When the armed revolt broke out in Angola the Portuguese colonialists introduced phoney reforms to prevent a link-up between the people of Angola and the liberation movement, and to make the world and the Angolans believe that the slavery would now be changed into conditions under which the Africans would enjoy the very same rights as the colonialists. But time revealed this clumsy stratagem of the Portuguese colonialists. Only with the revolution, however, did the men and women of Angola become enthusiastically aware of the fact that they had become human beings able to achieve goals in the interests of liberating their homeland.

Portuguese colonalism, which is unable to check the growing revolution with its own means, is increasingly urging the international monopolies to make investments in the areas still under its rule.

This fact, one of the most important characteristics of the colonial policy presently pursued by Portugal, resulted in a constant race between the monopolies of the imperialist countries for the riches of Angola and Mozambique. From this exploitation Portugal is pocketing the interests which help it cover a considerable part of the costs of its colonial war. The Angolan iron-ore which is being exploited by the Krupp trust, alone brings the colonial government some 37,000 US dollars per day.

Since in this way the problem of financing the war was half-solved, Portugal tried to settle the question of active co-operation (at the very site of armed struggle) with the South African Republic and with Rhodesia, which are also affected by the smouldering fire in Southern Africa. This secretly arranged co-operation is assuming increasingly concrete dimensions.

As far back as April 1966 Salazar came out openly in support of the racist Smith regime, its potential ally in the envisaged expansion of the armed struggle in Southern Africa. Portugal and the South African Republic were later the only countries in the United Nations who voted against sanctions against the Ian Smith regime.

That the Salazar-Vorster-Smith alliance came about rather secretly did not escape observers, however. The "tripartite council", which frequently brings together high-ranking officers from Portugal, Rhodesia and the South African Republic in Luanda, Pretoria, Salisbury or Lourenco-Marques, was established after more than a dozen mutual visits of delegations of Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African ministers in the course of the past two years. Allow me to draw your attention to the fact that as far back as in February 1962, officers of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force in Salisbury received officers of the 2nd Air Force Division of Angola to conspire against the liberation movement. Only recently information transpired about joint exercises of Salazar's and Smith's troops on the border to Mozambique, which were clumsily justified by a Portuguese spokesman as being joint fire-brigade exercises. Military co-operation also covers road-building and the construction of airports in the interests of facilitating troop movements between Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique.

NATO continues to be an essential factor for supporting Portugal in her colonial wars and is thus strengthening the colonialist-racist alliance. Within NATO, West Germany is playing the most active role by economically and militarily supporting the "Tripartite Council". In 1967 the monopolies of the West German Federal Republic invested 30 million US dollars in the South African Republic. West Germany is also the best trade partner of Rhodesia and Portugal.

West Germany, which is superseded at present by the oil trusts ruled by American, French, British and Belgian capital which are exploiting the mineral oil in Angola and Mozambique, is trying to force her way in there. Together with SACOR and OLIVA (Portuguese firms) the West German firm "Schwelmer Eisenwerk Mueller & Co." built a factory in northern Portugal (Guimaraes) for the production of gasoline tanks and gas cylinders.

West German military experts are actively supporting every country of the colonialist-racist alliance and are supplying them with large quantities of war material.

By giving military and economic support to each of these three criminal regimes, France is also taking an active part in the strengthening of the colonialist and racist bloc. This is a fact which gives the lie to the anti-colonialist reputation that this country has gained in Africa in the last few years.

US imperialism, with its immense capital and subversive establishments, including the CIA, is contributing to the strengthening of the "tripartite council" against the patriots of South Africa. The Cabinda Gulf Oil Company invested 13 million US dollars in Angola alone for the exploitation of petroleum. The American trusts exploiting mineral oil in Mozambique intend to invest there 15 million dollars in the next three years.

The "Tripartite Council" is trying to create an economic basis of its own. Therefore an economic union of the Southern African countries has been repeatedly proposed as the best guarantee for a politico-military alliance against the liberation movement in the African south and for the expansionist tendencies of the South African Republic.

In spite of these facts the national liberation movement in Southern Africa is gaining in extent and intensity.

In Angola the enemy's war reports can no longer conceal a considerable intensification of military operations.

The appeal to extend the armed struggle is being enthusiastically supported by broad sections of the people in the four areas comprising eight of the fifteen Angolan districts, where the military operations are commanded by the MPLA. The number of regions backing the appeal is growing unceasingly, and fighting is going on as little as 50 kilometres from the capital (northern front), and 60 kilometres from the district capital Moxiko (which is more than 500 kilometres away from the border with Zambia), over an extent of 800 kilometres.

The extension of the fighting fronts brought along problems of organization for the population in the areas controlled by the guerillas. At present the MPLA is engaged in setting up bodies of people's power. It forms people's councils, which are to guarantee administration at sector, zone and regional level, and establishes production and trade centres. In several regions, people's militia units were formed, and medical centres, schools and training centres for revolutionary cadres have taken up their work.

This new orientation was accompanied by the historic decision to transfer the MPLA headquarters from Brazzaville into a region controlled by MPLA.

This dynamic action enthused even sections of the people who had left the country. Many of them have already decided to return, not only to support the guerillas but to help solve the great problems concerning production, transport of material etc., which have cropped up.

This development was only possible thanks to the application of revolutionary principles which gradually provided our movement with a strong structure, creating that discipline without which the struggle against the Portuguese colonialists could not have gained the same successes as have been achieved up to now.

The colonialists themselves have pointed to the present situation within the MPLA. The Portuguese daily "Primeiro de Janeiro" on December 18, 1967 published an article from a correspondent who had accompanied Portuguese troops. The correspondent wrote: "We have to state that we face an enemy who is more resolute than ever, whose equipment is improving from day to day and who is receiving increasing and more effective support. As I could notice 'in loco', the situation is aggravating in the east of the huge territory (of Angola), the Portuguese troops have to prepare for an energetic and lasting counter-thrust. This aggravation of the situation should not surprise the government. The virus of insecurity has spread, the dragon has awakened. We have to face this undeniable reality . . ."

This development also became possible thanks to the solidarity of the African countries and to the extensive material aid granted by the socialist camp, as well as the moral support of the freedom-loving people of many countries.

The stooges which imperialism was able to channel into our struggle in order to reap results later on, no longer succeed in carrying through their outlandish subversive machinations. The OAU recently took a decisive step on the road to clarifying the Angolan problem by expressing serious reservations about the representative character of an organization which after all had been recognized as an "Angolan government".

At present the unity of the country's fighting forces is being forged in the fire of fierce fighting. Those countries which, being unaware of the real situation in Angola, are still impeding the Angolan people's revolutionary activity by denying them their right to transport arms and people through their territory or by allowing the counter-revolutionary forces to take action against the MPLA on this same territory, will soon realize that they have made a serious mistake.

The situation in the African south shows several aspects of particular importance:

1) The effective occupation of this part of Africa by the racist and colonialist regimes which are being supported by international imperialism.

2) The active alliance of these regimes against the national liberation movements, their close economic, political and military collaboration, and the expansionist aspirations of their leader, the South African Republic, in view of the timidity of the "independent" states of this area.

3) The onset of the big powers craving the wealth of raw materials, with the United States, France and West Germany rivalling each other for the most lucrative booty.

4) The threats against Zambia who the colonialists and racialists regard as a danger to their survival. They accuse it of protecting guerillas–threats against which the other independent African countries have not yet put up a defence plan.

5) The advance of the armed liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

In view of this situation it is necessary to point again to the inefficiency of the United Nations whose work is confined to adopting well-meant resolutions without the prospect of being realized.

With regard to Southern Africa, the OAU has in the last few years been playing a very positive role via its Liberation Committee, whose means however do not allow it to take more action. But concerning the special problem of Zambia's defence, the OAU has not yet taken steps, which are imperative to protect this country against an aggression which would have dangerous consequences for the whole of Southern Africa.

In view of this situation the Angolan fighters hold the view that it is their most urgent task in Southern Africa to mobilise the entire Angolan people, taking up arms and creating conditions of a general uprising which would serve the liberation movements of the neighbouring countries. This would prevent the Portuguese colonialists from coming to the Rhodesian racialists' help. A general uprising would also be detrimental to the interests of the big monopolies which, hit at their most sensitive spot, would discontinue being a main-stay for the Portuguese colonialists.

Following this line of action the MPLA regards it as its main tasks:

1) to intensively work for the unity of our whole people, of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and of the progressive peoples and organizations of Southern Africa.

2) to aim at establishing close relations between the political organizations of the independent, progressive countries of Africa and the revolutionary national liberation movements.

3) to activate the various campaigns of the international organizations for the adoption of effective sanctions against the countries of the colonialist-racist bloc. This is not as an end in itself but another means to exert pressure.

4) to work towards the strengthening of the international anti-imperialist front by intensifying the relations between the solidarity organizations, the liberation movements and the peace and freedom-loving forces.

5) to intensify the armed struggle against the enemy day by day and spare no efforts to increase the guerilla potential.

The MPLA will not give in!
Victory or death!

E. CZAYA (G.D.R.)

The Continuity of the West German Monopolies in South Africa and South West Africa

South Africa today still belongs to the countries which are particularly approachable by German imperialism, for which it has particularly advantageous fields for expansion. The specific attitude of the bourgeois groups reigning in Southern Africa allowed German imperialism to overcome extensively there, especially early on, the temporary interruption and weakening of its influence due to the Second World War. As to content and method, it could rely in part on a relationship which had existed for decades. The move reflected a unique continuity of outward expansion from the time of William II up to the present, which at the same time manifests in principle the unchanged character of German imperialism.

The total long-term investment of German capital in South Africa and South West Africa is said to have been 25–28 million pounds before the First World War (1913), i.e. more than half a milliard gold Marks. Although the government of the Union of South Africa, contrary to most of the other allied forces of the First World War, went a long way to meet German capitalists, the results of the First World War had nevertheless weakened the German position considerably. The long-term German capital investments in South and South West Africa are estimated to be only about 3.4 million pounds; in 1930: i.e. only about 13 % of the level before the war.

Between the two world wars, because of the difficult financial situation of German imperialism, only insignificant sums of new German capital were transferred to Southern Africa. Thus, on the eve of the Second World War, German capital there was essentially the same as had been invested before the First World War. When the South African 'Custodian of Enemy Property' enumerated the assets of bodies corporate confiscated during the Second World War in South and South West Africa, they totalled about 4.6 million pounds or 51 milliard Marks (net liquidation returns). This corresponds to my estimation for 1930 (3.4 million pounds), the difference being made up by a certain capital increase up to the Second World War resulting from accumulation and, to a minor degree, from imported capital in the shape of exported real assets.

During the Second World War, the German capital, where property relations were not obscure, was confiscated and generally liquidated by force in the Union of South Africa, and this time in South West Africa too. But at the close of the Forties, the South African government returned the actual value, in some cases even the original objects, to their former owners, admittedly in the beginning by devious means (such as interest-free credit etc.), but later on in an official way too. Contrary to the decrees of the Twenties, it avoided as far as possible the transfer of proceeds of liquidation to Germany. While after the First World War the larger part of these values was transferred to Germany and thus lost for reinvestment in South Africa, the West German capitalists were this time compelled to look for new fields of investment for their assets after liquidation (which had been given them back in South Africa and South West Africa) wherever they could not buy back their former interests, which was possible only to a small degree.

The German monopolies lost important key positions through confiscation and compulsory liquidation, as for instance in the copper mines in the mountains of Otavi and the participation in diamond mining in South West Africa, as well as losing time for profits and accumulation. In spite of this, the German capital invested in Southern Africa before the Second World War formed the basis (because of its near-complete restitution even though in different fields) on which the West German monopolies could establish their new expansion. Thus we can say that the greater part of this foundation dated back to the time of William II.

On the whole it was colonial capital which had originally been invested in the then German colony South West Africa, i.e. that part of German investment in Southern Africa which had not been forcibly liquidated in the First World War or immediately afterwards. In this form, however, it is today in evidence only to a very small degree. Mostly, the West German capitalists had to look for new objects of investment, as competitors had taken over the most important former German interests in South West Africa. Because of improved conditions of administration for new investment in the Union of South Africa, in the course of the recovery of proceeds of liquidation, a second, this time stronger, wave of capital

transfer from South West Africa to the Union of South Africa set in. The Otavi Mines and Railway Corporation, the most important independent German enterprise in Southern Africa, has continued mining but must now be content with a position in South Africa which, with regard to its importance, can in no way be compared with the former Otavi Monopoly. In the same way, participation of the Lübbert Group in enterprises of the young manufacturing industry of South Africa, connect back to participation in diamond mining societies in former German South West Africa.

Various formerly independent groups of German capital in Southern Africa came closer and closer together as a result of entanglement of capital. The climax of this process was the taking-over of considerable blocks of shares of the Otave Mines and Railway Corporation (Deutsche Bank Group) by Erich Lübbert (Berliner Handelsgesellschaft Group) during the Second World War. In this manner the two most important German groups of capital in Southern Africa came into close communication. When, after the Second World War, the German monopolies started expanding once more, there was practically one great block of German monopolies there. Erich Lübbert became the link connecting the different groups in spite of the fact that, with regard to total volume, the share of capital of the Deutsche Bank Group always prevailed in the monopolies engaged in South Africa. The business connection, created by Lübbert, enabled the West German monopolies to represent their common interest in South Africa in a concentrated form, without abolishing the Groups themselves. The German monopolies after the First World War, because of the broad dispersion of their South and South West African participation, had to organize themselves in business associations, such as the South African Holdings Agency and the Society for Protectorate Loans, in order to have representation for negociations with the South African Custodian. But after the Second World War, the advanced convergence of West German capital invested in South Africa made the organization of such specific associations superfluous.

The new foothold gained by the German monopolies in Southern Africa after the Second World War was completely under the guiding star of common or directly coordinated actions of the allied groups of Otavi and Lübbert/Zoellner, which made use of the instrument of the Bonn State. Analogous to the conditions after the First World War, Erich Lübbert became the real pacemaker of the West German post-war expansion in Southern Africa. As we stated, German capital investments had considerably shrunk in Southern Africa in the Twenties, and in the Thirties they had only slightly increased. After the Second World War, a considerable increase of West German capital investments in South Africa took place, by capital transfer from West Germany and acceptance of foreign capital in South Africa. I do not wish to analyse here in detail this new capital export, but would stress the functioning continuity: With a lot of examples one can prove that the German monopolists already engaged in Southern Africa, and their confederates among the Germans residing there, arranged for West German monopoly capital important new outlets for capital investments, sources of supply of raw materials as well as markets, after the Second World War. On the soil thus prepared by them, further West German monopolies put down roots.

When listing the most important groups of West German capital in Southern Africa, one finds once again, with a single exception, all the groups who were there before the Second World War: Otavi Mines and Railway Corporation, Lübbert/Zoellner, Thorer etc. Only the Overseas Company for Industry and Commerce no longer plays an essential role–the continuation of its activity, determined as it was by annexational colonial and political interests, is excluded. With the money from its liquidation, the expenses of the Bonn State in South Africa were financed. Further groups have gained an influence. The Thorer Group (today Frankfurt-on-Main), for instance, by supplanting its rivals after the war and by promotion by the South African government, developed considerably its position on the karakul market. By so doing, it connects economically a large section of the white farmers of South West Africa, especially those of German descent, to West German imperialism.

This continuity has not only decisive political suppositions, but also extremely topical political consequences. The traditional nature of German imperialism, in an adaption to the changed conditions of forces, is continued. The monopolies cited above were in the past the carriers of an active German colonial policy; today, they play an important role in the fortification of the apartheid regime and the further stabilization of West German-South African alliance. The old struggle for German colonial possession and hegemony in Southern Africa has been replaced by an alliance with the other reactionary forces of international imperialism to secure the system of exploitation in South Africa with the aid of a racist dictatorship.

A. B. DAVIDSON (U.S.S.R.)

Emerging Revolutionary Forces in South Africa

The purpose of this report is to try to give an answer to the questions:

a) what period saw the emergence of revolutionary forces in South Africa and what are its time limits?

b) what were the cause and the nature of these forces at the initial stage.

1. *Historical stages of resistance and forms of struggle*

Resistance to the racist and colonial regimes in Southern Africa has a long history, having passed through many a stage. It began over three hundred years ago, when *Dutch East India Company* established a colony in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. The first Dutch settlers began to push back the Hottentots, who lived there, and take away their cattle. Because of his resistance, the chief of the tribe-Autshumao–who was nickmaned by European sailers and settlers 'Harry the Hottentot' was captured six years later in 1658 and sent to the Robben island near Capetown,[1] the island where Abraham Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Gowan Mbeki are now imprisoned. Autshumao was the first to start resistance and the first political prisoner in Southern Africa.

Since then the first stage of resistance began for South-

1 L. Forman, The history of the march to freedom. Cape Town (1959)

ern Africa, a stage of so-called "colonial wars", of which V. I. Lenin said that "very often they are a national wars or national revolts of oppressed peoples".[2] The most important land marks of this struggle in the South African territories were wars and revolts by the Xosa people, that went on for over a hundred years from 1770's to 1880's, wars and revolts by the Zulus, Basutos and other South African Bantu peoples.

The importance of this stage for the subsequent struggle lay largely in the fact that the spirit of resistance and heroic traditions came into being among the broad masses of people, who assosiated the names of the best men of the past, the names of their fore-fathers, with the revolts against colonialism.

The crush of tribal revolts was followed by a stage, when social changes took place within African society, which changed the forms of resistance to colonialism accordingly. The establishment of a regime of systematic colonial exploitation accelerated the desintegration of the tribal system. New social forces emerged. Seasonal employment appeared and first temporary and later permanent African settlements sprang up near mines, European farms and cities, as well as near Christian missions.

This extended the limits of human ideas, giving rise to gradual appearance of first shots of national and political consciousness. There appeared among the Africans, who ceased to live in a tribal system such forms of associations as "native associations", "welfare associations" and sometimes "native voters associations" together with the first African newspapers. The spreading of Christianity played an important part in the emergence of new ideas, which soon disillusionate many Africans, who believe in "white" faith, and brought about "native" Christian churches.

This stage may be arbitrarily called second. It did not directly bring forth opportunities for liberation. It saw a very slow accumulation of forces for the battles to come.

The stages of resistance themselves sometimes did not coincide in time in different parts of Southern Africa. The Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope encountered colonialism in the middle of the 17th century, whereas many of the Bantu peoples faced the threat of enslavement only two hundred years later. The Eastern tribes of the Xosa people, who lived on a vast territory, were still engaged in a war of independence before the early 1880's, while the western Xosa tribes, who lived nearby and had for long been included in the Cape colony, saw the emergence of "native"' churches, "native voters associations", the appearance of the first African newspapers–the forms characteristic of the second stage.

It seems appropriate to speak of general periods in this respect in order to determine the place of the period under consideration, namely, the emergence of revolutionary forces in the Republic of South Africa, in the entire history of the liberation struggle. The turn of the century, it seems to me, may be considered to be the end of the second period.

Until the beginning of the 20th century various forces of resistance, sometimes with no links whatsoever, were at play in various parts of the territory, which is now part of the Republic of South Africa. It couldn't have been otherwise, since very different social and state systems existed in that vast territory. The general picture was very multi-coloured and was prone to change very rapidly. The Cape colony was growing. New "white" states and colonies would emerge and disappear in rapid succession. Those were small and large Boer Republics, new British possessions, annexed by the Cape colony or given some special status. States of Zulus, Basutos, associations of the Xosa and other tribes would come into being only to disappear again. In the 19th century there existed even Republics of coloureds (Griquas).

True, late in the 19th century non-white political organisations came into existence, while a labour and even socialist movement emerged among the white settlers. All that was brought about by the rapid development of the capitalist economy, which followed the discovery in the southern part of Africa of the world's largest deposits of diamonds and gold and by the diamond-gold rush of the 1870's and the 1880's. Since then a capital inflow to the southern part of the African continent began to gain momentum, drawing thousands and thousands of Africans in the industrial production, accompanied by a large-scale immigration from Europe and America. The diamond-gold rush gave impetus to the building of railways and development of new industries.

The rapid development of capitalist relations gave rise to the industrial proletariat, both "white" and African.

The workers and intellectuals, who immigrated from Europe, brought along their experience of class struggle and socialist ideas. White trade unions began to spring up, first being only branches of the British trade unions.

The first political organisation of the African population emerged as far back as in 1882, but it operated in a tiny spot of the Cape colony, was very weak, small and short-lived. In 1894 Ghandi, who at that time settled in South Africa, founded the Indian Congress of Natal.

But all those were separate organisations. Each one of them limited its activities to a specific geographic region of Southern Africa, representing a relatively small section of the population, while the demands put forward had nothing to do with revolution.

2. *The emergence of Revolutionary Forces and the Beginning of a New Stage of the Struggle*

Apparently, no coherent forces of resistance could emerge in various states of Southern Africa before there could come into being a single political regime, which would place the population of these territories in similar conditions. Such a political regime emerged as a result of the defeat of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in the course of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902, and as a Result of Britain efforts to form a Dominion of the Union of South Africa in which the Boer Republics were united with Cape colony and Natal.

The establishment of the Union of South Africa came as a result of the compromise reached between British imperialism and a significant section of the Boer elite at the expense of the non-European population. A single system of oppression began to emerge throughout the vast territory of the new Dominion, on the basis of a document, which is frequently referred to as the Constitution of the Union of South Africa–the South Africa Act–which was passed by the British Parliament in 1909 and entered into force on May 31, 1910, right from the time when the dominion was officially formed.

All the bills that were submitted before the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, which was established under the above mentioned Act, had the purpose of

2 V. I. Lenin. The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution. Coll. Works, 4th edition, Vol. 23, p. 66 (in Russian)

creating a single system of oppression. Particularly notorious among these was the Native Lands Bill, which became an act in 1913. It stipulated that throughout the Union of South Africa, except for the territories of the reserves, which accounted for less than 13 per cent of the total area of the country, Africans could not own land but only rent it on condition that they will pay for it by their own labour.

A whole series of such measures largely levelled the position of Africans, which before the Union of South Africa was set up was somewhat different in different territories, which now formed the Dominion. This placed Africans throughout the country in similar conditions and could only make them realise that they had common interests.

The legislation, introduced in the Dominion, established a single system of regimented life for racial, national and social groups of the population.

This was an important prerequisite for a gradual emergence of a single protest movement in the country.

However, the formation of the Union of South Africa was not, of course, the cause of the appearance of revolutionary forces. They were brought about by more deeper undercurrents connected with it, primarily, a rapid capitalist development of the country.

The end of the Anglo-Boer War and the establishment of the Union of South Africa removed many of the obstacles that were blocking the economic development of the country. Industry and "the European" sector of agriculture began to gain momentum. The labour force, both white and non-white, began to grow rapidly. In 1917, 308,500 were employed at pits alone, of whom 271,500 were Africans and coloureds, 33,000 whites and 4,000 of Asian origin.[3] The processing industry employed 124,000 workers, of whom 47,000 were whites, 47,000 Africans, 19,000 coloureds and 12,000 of Asian origin.

Among the Africans employed at pits and collieries, most of them were, of course, seasonal workers, while in other industries there existed a permanent African working class.

The requirements of the economic growth, particularly the acute shortage of industrial workers, resulted in an extended system of African schools, which, in turn, increased the need in African teacher and priests. The African intelligentsia included lawyers, authors, publicists, historians, who wrote novels, made studies of social, political and historical problems. There was a fairly large number of Africans, who got their education in Europe and America.

Thus, already in the first ten years of its existence the Union of South Africa had social forces, which could grasp the ideas of national and class liberation and create their own national and class organisations.

It was in these first ten years that saw the establishment of a political organisation of African nationalism–the *African National Congress*. It was formed in the course of a general struggle of Africans against the *Native Lands Act* and became the first African political organisation in the entire African continent, operating not within the limits of one tribe, people or a relatively small geographic region, but in one big country. The *African National Congress* was formed on the basis of *Native Congresses,* which came into existence a few years earlier in various parts of South Africa, and was originally called the *South African Native National Congress.*

The sponsors of the *African National Congress* were young African intellectuals such as Dr. Picksley Ka Isak Seme, a lawyer and journalist, who was a brillant student of the Columbian and Oxford Universities, lawyer Alfred Mangena, Richard Msimand and George D. Montsioa, who got their education in Britain, and John L. Dube, a celebrated Zulu author, educated in the United States. Some of them, for example, teacher and publicist Solomon Plaatie, already were experienced in the political struggle in the *African Political Organisation* set up in 1903 by the Capetown coloureds, which was also open for Africans.

The idea of non-violence and other methods of the *Indian Congress*, established by Ghandi, were also borrowed by young African intellectuals, who introduced them in the *African National Congress.*

The *Congress* emerged as an organisation of the then African elite, which did not maintain strong ties with the people and set itself the task of softening somehow the "native" policy of the authorities by petitioning and requests. The ANC conference held in July 1913 even declared that the *Congress* would have nothing to do with strikes and the labour movement.[4] The *Congress* had to change its original stand under the pressure of the changing situation in the country, primarily because of the emerging African labour organisations.

The first such organisation–*Industrial Workers of Africa*–was set up in Johannesburg in 1917. Soon after it came out on strike for the first time, the organisation gradually retreated from the political scene. However, the idea of uniting African workers did not die out. 100,000 African minerworkers joined the strike of March 1918, and in 1919 Clements Kadali, of Nyasaland, who worked in Transvall pits, founded the *Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union,* which a few years later had a membership of 100,000 and was the largest African organisation in the entire continent.

The time that passed from the establishment of the Union of South Africa till 1922 was a period that saw the peak of the revolutionary activities of the white proletariat in the entire history of South Africa. The proletariat's living standards left much to be desired. It grew more and more revolutionary and was not as yet corrupted through a policy, which the ruling circles of South Africa worked out and began to pursue from the mid-1920's.

The strikes of the last pre-war years and particularly the general strike of 1913, class battles of the first post-war years and finally the peak of the revolutionary activities of white workers–an armed "Red Revolt" by the mineworkers of the Transvaal in March 1922–those were the most important landmarks of the labour movement of the then Africa.

In the period under consideration the most progressive white intellectuals and workers of the Union of South Africa showed a marked interest in the ideas of socialism, Marxism, internationalism and were noticeably affected by the Russian revolution of 1905–1907 and later the October revolution and the political upheaval of the first post-war years in Europe and in many non-European countries.

Settlers of European origin were the main conductors of these ideas and influence. The Chairman of the *South*

3 The statistics cited here and elsewhere are taken from official year book of the Union of South Africa, N 2–1918, Pretoria, 1919

4 Umteteli wa Bantu (Johannesburg) 13 January 1934

African Communist Party Comrade Lebadi in a pamphlet entitled *Great October and the Liberation Movement of South Africa* published in 1967, wrote: "Immigrant workers from Europe, who joined the wine making, sugar and mining industries of the country, brought along new ideas. And what is more important, they were familiar with the ideals and traditions of the European labour movement."[5]

Skilled workers and technicians who came to South Africa from Britain were very often experienced in class struggle and were familiar with the most progressive ideas of that time. At the turn of the century three men came to South Africa, who became the founders and most prominent leaders of the *International Socialist League* and the *Communist Party*, David Ivon Jones, Sidney Persiwal Bunting and William Andrews.

People, who came from Russia, played no small part either. Their number was rather large. According to the census conducted in the Union of South Africa in 1911, over 24,000 citizens of the Union came from Russia[6] and their immigration continued to grow: in 1912–689 Russians were naturalized, in 1913–486 and in 1944–255, whereas the total number of Russians, who came to South Africa in 1914, was about 815.

Among the Russian immigrants the percentage of those "undesirable" was exceptionally high. Thus, in 1913 20 per cent of the total number of immigrants declared undesirable came from Russia. Those were mainly the people, who left the Russian empire after the revolution of 1905–1906 was crushed. (It should be pointed out that meetings of support of that revolution were held in South Africa).

Those, who came from Russia, brought along socialist ideas and the experience of the first Russian revolution. Many of them took part in establishing Marxist organisations in South Africa. Among them was, for instance, R. Bunting, the wife of the late S. P. Bunting, whose 80th birthday was celebrated by the South African and British Communists last January. R. Bunting was a member of the Central Committee elected at the Constituent Congress of the *South African Communist Party* in 1921.

The beginning of the First World War saw the split of the "white" labour movement. In 1914 a *War on War League* emerged from the *South African Labour Party*, whereas in 1915 an *International Socialist League* was set up and began to spread the ideas of Marxism and internationalism, warmly responding to the October revolution in Russia. In 1920 it declared that it was joining the *Communist International* and together with some other socialist organisations and groups sponsored the establishment of the *Communist Party of South Africa*, the first Communist Party in the African continent.

The Socialist organisations of South Africa travelled a long way from 1910 to 1921. From the ideas of trade unionism, sindicalism, anarchism many of their members went on to Marxism and internationalism. They did not merely grasp these ideas but began to spread them. They published and circulated in South Africa works written by Marx and Engels and from 1917 the works written by V. I. Lenin. Their newspapers *International* and *Bolshevik* made an attempt not only to spread these ideas but apply them to the South African reality.

5 Lebadi. Great October and the Liberation Movement in South Africa, Moscow, 1967, p. 9 (in Russian)

6 See, Official year book, 1919

Their exceptionally great achievement was that they were the first in Africa to put forward the slogan of internationalism. Already at that time they appealed to the Africans in the most racist country of the world.

It was with the assistance of the *International Socialist League* that the first union of African workers–*Industrial Workers of Africa*–was set up. They published their most important leaflets in Zulu and Soto.

The *International Socialist League* tried to attract non-Europeans to their circles and Marxist evening classes. Soon after the *South African Communist Party* was formed, party evening classes for Africans began to function. This made it possible to attract Africans to the Party and later in the late 1920's to make them the majority of party members. Some of the men, who were educated then in those classes, are now the leaders of the party.

All this, it seems to me, indicates that the revolutionary forces, which despite the growing terror continue to act present, emerged exactly in the period that followed the establishment of the Union of South Africa till the early 1920's.

The reasons for that were the growth of national and political consciousness of the broad masses of the workingmen of all racial groups, the upsurge of the class struggle, the effects of the revolutionary development in the world and primarily the October revolution in Russia. The possibilities of spreading revolutionary ideas were prepared by the process of the formation of capitalist class relations, which at that time went further than in any other African country. The working class, both white and African, came into being. The African intelligentsia emerged, which could not reconcile itself with the regime of extreme racial discrimination.

It was that period that saw the emergence of African nationalism within the limits of a large state. It was then that the ideas of Marx and, after the October revolution in Russia, of Lenin were spread in the country. The emergence throughout the country of new forces of protest was not merely a union of certain organisations, which already existed in various parts of the country, but a qualitatively new stage. It was at that time that such organisations as the *African National Congress* and the *Communist Party of South Africa* emerged, which, undergoing changes all the time, represent even now the fighting revolutionary South Africa.

South Africa in the period under consideration did not only begin to grasp the new ideas of the world revolutionary process, but to impart them to other countries of the continent.

H. FISCHER (G.D.R.)

Attitude and Policy of the GDR towards the Racist Minority and Colonial Regimes in Southern Africa

Mindful of the bitter lessons learnt from history, in the socialist GDR the anti-human ideologies of fascism, chauvinism, racism, and revanchism, and other manifestations of imperialist-militarist ideology, were overcome and extirpated.

According to the provisions of the new GDR Constitution, any form of militarist and revanchist propaganda, war-mongering, manifestations of hatred against creeds, races or international hatred, are punished as crimes.

Unlike this, in the South African Republic and other countries of Southern Africa, racism, contempt for human beings and national hatred are the ideological foundations and pillars of systems under which the ruling white minorities most cruelly exploit millions of people who are deprived of their rights.

Hence, it is not only political and socio-economic but also irreconcilable ideological contradictions and differences which separate the socialist GDR from the current regimes in Southern Africa. When the South African Republic was proclaimed in 1961 it was noticeable even then that this proclamation was intended as yet another measure by the most reactionary groups of the white minority in the South African Republic to increase even more the oppression of the African working people in that country, and, moreover, to challenge the liberation and independence movement of all Africa.

It is therefore a matter of course that the GDR denied recognition to that regime; just as the Smith regime in Rhodesia can never expect to be recognized by the GDR.

By numerous foreign-policy moves and measures, the government of the GDR has sharply condemned the apartheid policies practiced by the government of the South African Republic, and has demanded that this policy be abandoned–a policy which violates the most elementary human rights, embodies a type of racism which is modelled on Hitler fascism, and by means of which the African peoples' right to self-determination is abolished through terror and murder.

In its statements and comments on events and developments in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and the territories still under Portuguese colonial rule, the GDR has again and again emphatically pointed to the dangers arising for the peoples and states of Africa and for world peace from the disastrous close cooperation of the regimes in power in these territories and West German imperialism.

In these statements and comments presented to the General Assembly, the Security Council and the respective United Nations special committees, important facts relating to this cooperation were in time made known to the international public, facts which are recognized and assessed as clear proof of Bonn's complicity in the conspiracy against the African peoples and states.

Despite the fact that it is not yet a member of the UNO, the GDR recognizes and respects the principles underlying the UN Charter and the decisions of the United Nations aimed at peace as binding upon it, and it contributes actively to implementing and applying them. What has here been stated also applies fully to the contributions and activities of the GDR directed at overcoming colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid and racism.

In accordance with the resolutions of the UN and the decisions taken at the conference of the heads of states of the Organization of African Unity of May 1963, the GDR, true to the principles of its foreign policy, in June 1963 broke off all trade and economic relations with the Republic of South Africa, in spite of the material losses arising from this step for the GDR.

With the same consistency, the GDR obeys the respective UN resolutions on the realization of trade and economic sanctions against the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Specifying its general position, the government pronounced inter alia on the following problems and questions:

In a statement on the Security Council decision of December 4th 1963 concerning the continuation of apartheid policies by the Republic of South Africa, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the GDR welcomed the adoption of the resolution and stated the conformity of the position of the GDR with the interests of the peoples of Africa. In this statement facts about West Germany's political and moral support for the apartheid regime in South Africa were given. (Document A/AC 115/L. 69 of May 19th 1964)

In a letter of August 15th 1964 the then Secretary of State and present Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR, Mr. Otto Winzer, informed the United Nations Secretary-General about a note which explained in a detailed manner the position of the government of the GDR towards the apartheid policy. Another telegram to the Chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid Policy also pointed out this position of the GDR towards the apartheid policy and stated anew that the GDR does not maintain any relations with the Republic of South Africa. (Document A/AC 115/L. 119 of March 19th 1965)

The GDR also made a statement on the question of racial discrimination and welcomed the elaboration of the "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" and emphasized there the necessity of the complete liquidation of colonialism as a prerequisite fort the elimination of racism. (Document S/239 (5-1-1) of October 23rd 1963)

In a telegram sent by the Deputy Foreign Minister of the GDR to the President of the 20th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights on February 26th 1964 the GDR welcomed the draft convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and suggested to include in this draft a provision prohibiting fascist and neo-nazist organizations. Especially in view of the recent development of revival and advance of the forces of neo-nazism in West Germany and their collaboration with the racists and fascists in South Africa, this proposal is of most urgent topicality.

Further statements of the GDR Foreign Minister, Mr. Otto Winzer, were sent to the UN Secretary General, U Thant, dealing with the verdict which the International Court in The Hague pronounced on July 18th 1966 in the question of South West Africa, and to the President of the General Assembly concerning the discussion of the South West Africa question in the General Assembly. ("Neues Deutschland" of September 28th 1966)

In a telegram from the GDR Deputy Foreign Minister on June 3rd 1966 to the Chairman of the 24-Nation Committee against Colonialism of the United Nations, it was stated that the government of the GDR is supporting the demand of the national liberation movement of South West Africa for full independence, and national self-determination for the population of South West Africa.

Similar activities and measures were taken by the GDR also with regard to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and those African territories still under Portuguese colonial rule. Also in these questions the GDR identified itself, in numerous declarations and statements to the United Nations, with the liberation struggle of the African peoples in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissao, and submitted important facts to the United Nations about

the close cooperation and the support given by West Germany for the Portuguese colonial policy and about the violation of the UN Security Council resolutions on Rhodesia by the Bonn government.

Especially, the statements recently given by the GDR on the terror trials held in the Republic of South Africa against 35 South West African patriots and the murder of African patriots by the Smith regime in Zimbabwe, were met by world-wide interest.

In a telegram, which the GDR Foreign Minister sent on January 30th 1968 to the UN Secretary General, U Thant, the government of the GDR resolutely condemned the continous efforts of the government of the Republic of South Africa to extend its apartheid policy to South West Africa, and demanded the unconditional observance of the UN resolutions according to which the Republic of South Africa has to abandon its racist and annexational policy towards South West Africa.

With that the GDR Foreign Minister underlined that the government of the GDR supports all measures directed at the liquidation of the South African Republic's terror regime in South West Africa. In this connection the GDR also fully supports the latest proposals for the solution of the South West Africa question which were submitted to the plenary session of the 22nd UN General Assembly by the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and UN Delegate on May 6th 1968.

Pursuing its active and constructive foreign policy, the GDR lends valuable political and moral support to the forces of the national liberation movement. Beyond this, the GDR demonstrates its proletarian internationalism, the ideology and policy of international solidarity of the workers and working people of all countries in the struggle for liberation from capitalist exploitation and national oppression, by its direct and close cooperation with and its effective material support for the progressive liberation organization of Southern Africa. With this it is in accordance with Lenin's statement when he wrote: "The alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all suppressed peoples against all imperialists whatsoever–that is the foreign policy of the proletariat."[1]

Following this policy the GDR continues the traditions of the German working class and the great humanist thinkers, who have never ceased to despise and fight colonial suppression and exploitation, and stand for the rights of colonial peoples to freedom and human dignity and an independent national existence for all peoples. "Africa for the Africans" is one of the principles of GDR foreign policy.[2]

P. FRIEDLÄNDER (G.D.R.)

The Role of Social-Democratic Ministers in the Realization of West German Policy Towards South Africa

The appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and to the Ministry for Development Aid of Ministers belonging to a party whose leadership does not miss an opportunity to make dramatic declarations against the scourge of racism, caused large groups inside and outside of West Germany to hope that the "old course" of foreign policy towards South Africa, marked by a particularly close alliance with the racist regimes, would give way to a "new course". A change of course in the sense of a demonstrative anti-racism was not only expected by the national liberation movement of South Africa and with them by the whole "Third World", it was hoped for also by millions of members of the Social-Democratic Party, the trade unions, and other progressive forces in West Germany and West Berlin. Let me cite a voice of the organ of the West Berlin SP on the occasion of the visit of Franz Josef Strauss to South Africa, shortly before he was nominated most influential minister of the Kiesinger government:

"In my opinion, one cannot but compare the apartheid policy with Hitler's race policy towards the Jews . . .

It is a shame that a (West) German politician defended the racial policy in South Africa, while in our basic law one can read that the German people embrace inviolable and inalienable human rights as the fundamental for every human community."

Such voices increased after the inauguration of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. Typical of these voices was the "Open Letter" to Brandt from the students of the Missionary Academy of the University in Hamburg, which found the support of the whole Protestant Students' Community of West Germany and which demanded, with reference to the "International Convention on the Abolition of All Forms of Race Discrimination"–shortly before signed by West Germany too–a radical change of course in relations with the racist regimes in Southern Africa.

The Kiesinger/Strauss/Brandt government having been in office about 1 ½ years, the question may be asked whether and to what degree the stated demands, expectations, and hopes were fulfilled, whether foreign policy towards the countries of Southern Africa has adopted new trends and what character these assume?

The answer to this question has already been given in detail in one of the main speeches by Dr. Schilling. Thus I can confine myself to the following three theses:

1. The change of course, expected by large groups of the international public did not take place and–as will be explained in detail–*could not* take place. On the contrary: in almost no other field is the continuity of the foreign policy of Bonn so clearly evident as in Bonn's relations with the racist regimes in Southern Africa.

2. The appointment of renowned members of the SP to the Ministry which is so important for the image of the Federal Republic, above all in the "Third World", did not impede the execution of this continuity. On the contrary: the shift of Ministers brought about the prerequisites necessary to carry through the "old course" under the new conditions, characterised as these are by the increasing world-wide struggle against racist regimes.

3. With renowned SP officials in leading positions as contact points with the "Third World", an istrument was developed which possesses a high degree of flexibility such that it could be applied to realize apparently irreconcilable objectives. With its help it was possible to fortify demonstratively the West German positions in the states ruled by white minorities in the South of Africa, which consequently should have led to considerable damage of West Germany's reputation in the "Third World". This,

1 W. I. Lenin, Works (German edition), volume 25, p. 77

2 See Walter Ulbricht's speech of September 26th 1960 to the Diplomatic Corps

however, was not only prevented, but the flexibility of the instrument simultaneously made possible certain partial gains in expansion–at least in the sense of achieving further consolidation of positions already gained in the developing countries.

This contradictory twin-star of foreign policy, and the accompanying attempts at solution, do not apply only to West Germany. All imperialist main powers find themselves in a basically similar situation. Open declarations of solidarity with the racist regimes are today inevitably connected with loss of prestige in the countries of the "Third World". As the "Third World" has become a main sphere of class-struggle on the international scale, imperialism's support of political and strategically important strongholds in Southern Africa, secured by the military, is connected with the risk of the loss of important positions in the "Third World".

The fact that the above contradiction presents itself to West German imperialism in a much more aggravated form, is typical for this imperialist. Unlike other countries, the degree of its solution depends on whether and to what degree the present main dictum of West German foreign policy can be realized. I speak of the "sole representation" claim of Bonn, the aim of which is to prevent the recognition of the GDR in international law, and, indeed, by means of a juridical assumption, to be able to disguise the planned annexation of the GDR and its incorporation into the sphere of influence of the West German monopolies as an "internal German police action". The fact that the Bonn regime has been spared making the following choice in foreign policy and thus the inevitable consequences, can be put down to the credit of the SP officials charged with directing the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Development Aid. The choice thus avoided was: Either, West Germany supports the racist regime, which could have endangered severely the "sole representation" claim of Bonn in the eyes of the "Third World"; or, West Germany finds its way to a policy directed towards fortifying the Hallstein Doctrine–which would exclude support of the racist regime, at least in its most demonstrative form.

Up to now, it has been possible to avoid skilfully this policy of a dangerous either/or, and to take instead a course of as-well-as/also, serving the interests of power and profit for West German imperialism.

A "two-tiered" policy is the basis for this, as well as the enormous ability to deceive and mislead public opinion in the countries of the "Third World", and also the progressive public in West Germany itself, achieved by the effectiveness of SP ministers. The SP ministers were not afraid of exploiting for the revanchist policy of West German imperialism the world-wide humanitarian initiative, such as signing the Human Rights Charter as well as progressive decisions of the UN which assist the struggle against racialism.

The revanchist exploitation of the "Human Rights Charter"

By consent of the SP ministers, the Kiesinger/Strauss government has taken two spectacular initiatives by which it hoped to manifest its loyalty to the world movement against the racist regime of terror. It signed the "International Convention on the Abolition of all Forms of Race Discrimination," which is a part of the Human Rights Charter, and it joined formally the sanctions against Rhodesia, put into motion by the UN. It did so even though a decision of the UN is not mandatory for West Germany, which is not a member of the UN. What real intentions are hidden behind these steps? Did those who signed the international convention against racism really intend to help to realize its aims, namely "to prohibit and abolish every kind of racial discrimination and to guarantee the rights of all, without regard to race, colour, national or ethnic descent"?

The managing chairman of the "Board of Curators for an Indivisible Germany," Wilhelm-Wolfgang Schütz, expresses plainly in his address in favour of the signing of the document what misuse was really intended Schütz declared:

"It ist important to make clear to the 117 affiliated states of the UNO that (West) Germany can refer to the Human Rights for the solution of its problems. The convention as a part of the Convention of Human Rights contains decisions which can be used in favour of (West) Berlin and the Zone." (Meaning by "the Zone," the GDR and its annexation by West German imperialism–P.F.)

Schütz proposed to use the United Nations more intensively for the expression of the will of the Federal government.

Here it is made clear in a macabre way that Schütz and his associates within and outside the SP are not even considering the fate of the millions of exploited South Africans who are deprived of their rights. Schütz and people like him are unscrupulous enough to make this most shady political deal over the victims of racism in the interests of their annexationist "sole representation" claim.

No less instructive in the extent of this deception are the admissions of the motives leading to the participation of West Germany in sanctions against Rhodesia, put into motion by the UN. Were Kiesinger, Strauss, Brandt and Wischnewski interested in participation in world-wide sanctions and in weakening the regime established in Zimbabwe?

Their real motives become quite clear when we read:–

"Till a few days ago there was still a dispute between the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Economics as to how Germany should act. Some officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs thought it necessary to top immediately the trade with Rhodesia. Once more, the Federal Republic is to play the model boy, because otherwise, as is feared in Koblenzer Strasse (quarters of the SP Minister Brandt; P.F.) the favour of the UN members could turn more than before towards the Ulbricht State. (He means the GDR; P.F.) The GDR would not hesitate to take advantage of this opportunity to be the favourite with the UN!"

In this connection too it has been made public that the Federal government was by no means interested in demonstrable actions against the Smith Regime. The decisive motive finally for formal participation in the sanctions was–as in the case of signing the Convention against racism–the effort to create optimum conditions to accomplish the revanchist "sole representation" claim. The same spirit, directed towards liquidation of the GDR, can also be found in the comment addressed to Britain by a Heidelberg lawyer and politico, concerning the participation of West Germany in the sanctions:

"We are bound to the principles of the United Nations but not to their actions . . . When the Federal Republic

takes part in sanctions against Rhodesia, neglecting the legal aspect ... then this is done only out of regard to England, which is free to start political actions against the separated autonomous colony ... One should only demand that the English leftists return this political support, and understand at least that we don't like separations of German territories, whenever they (the English) refuse to grasp our legal arguments about the Occupied Zone and the Eastern territories."

These "arguments" amount briefly to this: In exchange for West German participation in the sanctions, the Federal government expects, above all from the organizations of the Second International, and using its SP ministers as a model, a still wider toleration of the revanchism of the Federal Republic.

A further proof of their repeated political double-dealing is the fact that the Federal government, in spite of ostentatious ratifications of the sanctions decision, never even considered carrying them out. On the contrary, the last few years are marked by increased direct and indirect support of racist regimes, above all the Smith Regime. The West German engagement as a complex has already been exposed in the report mentioned earlier, so on this point too, I can pass over to specific items.

The Expansionist Misuse of the Sanctions Decision of the UN

As a result of the pretended economic boycott for over a year of the Smith regime by the Kiesinger/Strauss government, we note the fact that West Germany has pushed Great Britain from the leading position in foreign trade with Rhodesia. While, according to data of Commonwealth Minister Bowden, the loss Great Britain suffered as a result of the sanctions during the last year amounts to about 179 million Marks, West Germany increased its exports to Rhodesia in 1967, according to official data, by more than 10 %, from 41,6 million Marks to 46,3 million Marks. In reality, the West German export successes, due to the method of illegitimate trade, forced through by the Kiesinger/Strauss/Brandt government in a parody of the principles of international law, should even be estimated higher than this. The West German export offensive in this case makes use above all of such machinations as the falsification of bills of carriage and exportation via a third country without mentioning the country of origin. A British newspaper writes in this connection:

"On the Rhodesian import side, 20 Volkswagens will arrive per month via Beira; the same goes for Mercedes cars."

But Bonn and the relevant SP ministers do not only permit the fact that the Rhodesian markets are open for the West German monopolies, but that the racist regime can thereby strengthen itself by vital importation, above all also of strategic goods. The embargo lists of the United Nations' Security Council prohibit from this point of view above all the delivery of cars. The exportation of goods necessary for the Smith regime is promoted by Bonn in a generous way, allowing all forms of illegitimate trade. Thus one can read with regard to West German imports from Rhodesia:

"The documents are cooked to make it look as if they are South African goods."

And: "In Bonn and Hamburg, there are rumours that the Rhodesians, through the establishment of dummy companies and stooges, had made provisions to dispose of at least some of its goods there at good prices, in spite of the boycott. Already a good deal of the trade goes via third countries."

The expansion of the West German monopolies in Zimbabwe, however, not only took place illegally but apparently not even mainly in an illegal way. The decision of the Kiesinger/Strauss/Brandt government to join the sanctions but to carry through agreements which had earlier been concluded, i.e. not to submit them to the provisions of the sanctions, was of particular importance for success in expansion. By that means alone, full license was given to the West German export offensive, as such agreements as a rule had a long-term character–and such regulations permit all forms of manipulation.

This economic expansion was accompanied by political infiltration. From the point of view of the deception we are covering here, a further concentration of fascist and neofascist elements in the official and unofficial points of contact of the Southern African countries, whose speciality is that it is not only tolerated, but actively participated in, by the SP leaders functioning as ministers, is of special interest. The climax of the development to date is without any doubt–as the main report has mentioned–the appointment of an old SS Sturmführer and leading collaborator of the Ribbentrop Ministry, Dr. Gustav-Adolf Sonnenhols, as the Bonn ambassador in Pretoria. In this connection, the activities of the NPD with respect to Zimbabwe deserve special attention. In an interview for the British Weekend Telegraph, Adolf von Thadden declared:

"You must know that I'm interested above all in Africa. I just came back from a very useful visit to Ian Smith, the Rhodesian leader ... He is a very reasonable man, beloved by his people."

And von Thadden made the following statement about the Smith regime's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence, Lord Graham, an old leading member of the fascist British Mosley Party and intimate of William Joyce, condemned to death as a traitor by the Allied Forces for his fascist broadcasts over German radio in 1946:

"Lord Graham is a valuable personality. They (Smith and Graham) are doing a grand job for the people of South Africa."

The "German Union of the Friends of Rhodesia", founded in October 1967, is also under the influence of neo-nazist groups and supports, like its related association the (West) "German-South Africa Society", numerous local associations. The activities of these associations find the benevolent support of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Bonn, directed by Brandt.

The glorification of the regime in leading West German publications, directed by the Springer Trust, is the expression of this policy. Thus a Springer paper drew the following picture of a regime which finally wrote its own sentence by carrying out an enormous number of brutal death sentences and hanging African freedom-fighters:

"Before the Ian Smith government fixed a clear line of march, Rhodesia was governed by terror, robbery and murder. Now, there is order, thanks to the prudence of the white man who was able to create ... order and security ... That's why you should give Ian Smith the opportunity to realize his great plan to unite Black and White. This country is longing for peace from without and contentment within for Black and White."

Summing up, one can say of the role of the SP leadership and its ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government, regarding the build-up of West German relations with the racist regimes in South Africa: It seemes to be proved that their task was up to now to support the reinforced political and economic expansion of West German imperialism in Southern Africa by using specific opportunities, means, and instruments. To them may be ascribed, above all, such measures as the deception of the public within and without West Germany, misusing the anti-colonial traditions of the German working class. The SP leadership and, above all, its ministers in the Kiesinger/Strauss government, submerged the repute which the anti-colonial struggle of the German working-class enjoys in the "Third World", entirely under the interests of power and profits of the West German monopolies.

Those anti-colonial traditions have a safe homestead in the GDR and find their continuity in the policy of our state, which – as this conference proves in a convincing manner – uses every opportunity to manifest its solidarity with the national movement for liberation.

V. P. GORODNOV (U.S.S.R.)

Racialist Policy of Apartheid and South African Labour Movement

In December 1966 a brief report came from the Republic of South Africa on a strike staged by miners in the Vinklaak gold mines in the north of the Cape province. There seemed to be nothing special about it. However, the strike was very unusual. A few hundred white workers, that is, workers of European origin, came out on strike, because of the employer's attempt to use Africans to perform the work, which was previously done exclusively by the whites. The strikers were afraid that the violation of the "colour bar" would jeopardize their privileged position and damage their economic interests.

Outwardly, the strike was seemingly a struggle by workers against the exploiters in defence of their rights. But, in fact, the strike was intended to preserve the "colour bar", to defend racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid, in other words, to preserve in the R.S.A. "the superiority of the white man".

The Vinklaak strike is not something unusual in South African reality. The history of the South African labour movement has recorded many acts of the white workers, that were of racialist nature and aimed against their class brothers–the African proletariat.

In the Republic of South Africa the working class does not merely consist of representatives of different races. The characteristic feature of the South African working class is that one of its parts, namely, the white workers, belongs to the race, claiming a dominant position. This was used by the ruling circles in the R.S.A. in the course of the class struggle against the working people. South African capitalists succeeded in utilizing racism as a new weapon in the class struggle against the South African working class. The old colonial principle of "Divide and rule" has been manifested here anew in the policy of racialist assault on the working class.

The policy of apartheid, disguised by demagogic utterances on the need of a development of races, is aimed not merely at retaining "the mastery of the white man". Apartheid is designed to provide for capitalist industry and agriculture cheap labour in the form of the African proletariat. In the R.S.A. apartheid is also called upon to create the most favourable conditions for ruthless exploitation of the working of the nonwhite population. One of these conditions is to split the working class on the basis of racial groups and to oppose these groups to one another.

The white workers, having become a labour aristocracy, have not been able to get rid of the burden of capitalist exploitation. Their privileged position does not merely provide higher standards of living for them in comparison with Africans which is incidentally largely achieved through intensified exploitation of the African working people. Moreover, whether these privileges will be preserved depends directly on the preservation of the system of oppression and exploitation of the African proletariat.

Economic corruption of the white workers, backed by ideological racialist indoctrination, has led the white workers to become white-collar workers of the colonial type.

In the post-war period the R.S.A. has witnesed a rapid growth of the African industrial urban proletariat. The African working class is growing not only numerically. It is turning into a serious class force. The African workers are organising themselves in trade unions, joining an active economic and political struggle, participating in the activities of the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. The class consciousness of the African proletariat, who is coming to the fore of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and, consequently, becoming the major opponent of the ruling classes. The South African bourgeoisie, having ensured the neutrality and even support of the "white labour aristocracy", is now aiming its class struggle against the African proletariat, whom it regards not without reason as the major threat to its domination.

The racialist concept of apartheid has now shot through every facet of South African life, including the trade union and labour movement. Apartheid has become a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes in their struggle to preserve and strengthen the regime of colonial and capitalist exploitation.

In the labour movement apartheid is aimed at separating African workers from white workers, at opposing the African proletariat to white workers and ruling out the possibility of emergence of a class union between them, aimed against their common exploiter.

In the R.S.A. there are a few dozen thousands of organized and politically conscious African workers and a few hundred thousands of workers, seeking to reach the same level of organization and consciousness. These sections of the working class present the main danger to the racialist regime in the R.S.A., and it is they who are mainly subjected to apartheid indoctrination, no matter how difficult this task may be.

The ruling Nationalist Party seeks, first, to establish control over the already organized workers with the help of apartheid and break down the unbending by cruel mass repression and, secondly, to prevent the continued organization of yet unorganized African workers. The ruling circles in the R.S.A. seek to do this task by channelling the development of the African proletariat along a strictly racial way, that is, within the rigid concept of apartheid.

By the end of 1961 the split of the South African trade union movement on the racial basis was complete, that is, all the registered trade unions, in fact, fully complied with the concept of apartheid. Apartheid, that has been in existence for 20 years now, has not only poisoned the whites with racism but is harmfully affecting the non-white population. In pursuing the policy of apartheid, the white racialists, in fact, deliberately sowing the seeds of black racism in the belief that they will be strong to cope with it. The racialist regime in the R.S.A. prefers to have black racism as an enemy rather than a multi-racial internationalist common front of all the working people of South Africa. The cultivation of racialist sentiment among the Africans is one of the ominous consequences of the apartheid policy.

Many of the developments in the South African labour and trade union movement of recent years can be understood and explained only when the effects of apartheid on the labour and trade union movement are identified. Only in this way can the existence from 1959 till 1966 of a small but strong trade union centre–the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa–be explained. This organization was set up on a purely racialist basis to unite only African trade unions, and thus was fully in line with the concept of apartheid.

The main task of the new trade union centre was to attract African workers, playing on their nationalist feelings, away from the progressive multi-racial trade union centre, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, by substituting black racism for the principle of international class solidarity.

The harmfull effects on the trade union movement also explain the situation that now exists in the largest South African trade union centre–the South African Trade Union Council. By giving up the principle of class solidarity with the African proletariat, the leaders of the Trade Union Council alienated African workers. But racialist views were so deeprooted among "the labour aristocracy" that many trade unions refused to join the Trade Union Council, since it denounced, although only in words, the "colour bar" in industry. As a result of this double-dealing, that is, denouncing apartheid in words and supporting it in deeds, the Trade Union Council lost the confidence of African workers and failed to unite all white workers.

The failure of the Trade Union Council in its attempts to lead African workers was due primarily to the fact that the leaders of that trade union centre adhered, as they did before, to the principle of separate existence of trade unions, that is, they held on to the position of apartheid. At the same time this timid attempt to attract Africans entailed an outburst of anger among the racist white workers in the Trade Union Council.

The progressive multi-racial trade union association–the South African Congress of Trade Unions–is a comparatively small organization, whose membership, at it's peak, did not exceed 60,000. However, its was mercilessly persecuted by the whole of the R.S.A. State machinery. That was due to the fact that the Trade Union Congress based its policies on complete and resolute denunciation of apartheid, on the desire to cultivate class solidarity in all South African workers regardless of their race.

This position posed a threat to the very foundations of the racialist regime, and no wonder it was the first to fall victim to police terror.

The continuous and rapid development of industry and particularly the engineering industry constantly requires more and more skilled and permanent labour. The working class is replenished with white workers to a small extent, which cannot satisfy the needs of the developing economy. Nor does immigration to the R.S.A. save the situation.

The ruling circles in the R.S.A. were faced with a real danger of slower rates of economic growth. To continue the expanded economic reproduction, the economy required more skilled labour. The African population had always been the source of additional labour, but because of the "colour bar" this source could not be used to fill in skilled jobs.

The growing gap in the "colour bar" was a progressive development. This first of all has delivered a serious blow to the racist concept of apartheid, as a whole. Besides, this accelerates the formation and development of an African industrial proletariat, who is called upon to become the moving force of the revolutionary movement in the R.S.A.

The position of the white workers on restoring cooperation with the African proletariat may change only with political changes. Only by overthrowing the military and police dictatorship of the white exploiter minority, which proclaimed racism its official doctrine and apartheid its policy, and establishing a truly democratic system, can it become possible to promote the unity of the South African working class. This will open up the way to the complete liberation of the working masses, including the white workers, from capitalist exploitation.

The only force capable of carrying through such transformations is the African proletariat. "The workers of the towns, the Africans employed in factories and in transport, in steel-works and power stations, in shops and offices, comprise the most dynamic and revolutionary force in South Africa."[1]

The programme of the Communist Party rightfully points out that the African working class "alone is capable, in alliance with the masses of rural people, of leading a victorious struggle to end white domination and exploitation".[2]

The victorious liberation movement in South Africa, whose major force is to be the African proletariat, will open up prospects for a restored unity of the labour movement.

The task of uniting all forces into a common front of struggle against the racial regime, against apartheid includes the task of overcoming racism among the white workers, the task of restoring unity of the labour movement. It is a complicated task but it can be done. Its solution is facilitated by the fact that despite 20 years of existence of apartheid, despite the earlier racial oppression the racialists did not succeed in completely poisoning the African cadre worker with racism and create the insurmountable psychological barrier between them and the white worker.

The South African racialists, leaning on the huge police force, have gained some successes in their pursuit of the apartheid policy. This was reflected primarily in slackened liberation movement in the R.S.A. in the last few years. The oppressed and divided working masses, deprived of experienced leaders, practically abandoned the active liberation movement. Apathy prevailed in South African towns, among the African population

1 The Programme of the South African Communist Party, p. 28
2 Ibid.

until very recently. This creates extremely difficult conditions for the liberation organizations and, first of all, for the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. It is not unlikely that active efforts of armed groups of the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People Union in the Rhodesian territory will result in an upsurge in the liberation movement, will call to life qualitatively new forms of the labour movement in the Republic of South Africa itself.

The problem of overcoming the detrimental effects of racism and the apartheid policy on the South African labour movement is one of the most acute and urgent problems on whose solution the further development of the revolutionary process in South Africa will largely depend.

AN. A. GROMYKO (U.S.S.R.)

The U.S. Expansion in the Republic of South Africa

Before I refer to the U.S. expansion in the R.S.A., may I dwell on the basic features of U.S. policies in Africa. This is necessary, mainly, in view of the fact that the U.S. expansion in the R.S.A. is nothing but a concrete realization of the strategy and tactics of American imperialism in the African continent. Moreover, the aims pursued by the U.S. in the R.S.A., in broader terms, are to achieve Washington's global aspirations as well.

An attempt to slow down the world revolutionary process is known to be one of the goals of U.S. global policy in the international scene. To attain these goals, the U.S. Government is resorting to various means designed to assist it in playing the role of a world policeman. Washington's desire to suppress national liberation movements by naked force clearly constitues the most adventurist policy. This is what U.S. imperialism is unsuccessfully trying to do in Vietnam. A more disguised system of measures by which U.S. imperialism seeks to counter the tide of the world revolutionary process is represented by neo-colonialism, so widely practiced in Africa. It is not by chance, therefore, that the participants in this scientific conference on the problems of Southern Africa devote so much of their attention to its exposure.

By now 39 newly-independent states have already emerged in Africa, which is more than in any other continent. It is only natural that the U.S. foreign policy tactics in respect of different African countries are different. Their alternatives are worked out with due regard to home and foreign policy of this or that African Government, to the degree of interest which U.S. monopolies show in exploiting natural resources of an individual African country, to the military and strategic importance it may have for the Pentagon. It is precisely these factors that account for a differentiated approach of Washington to individual African countries and regions, including the R.S.A., that racialist state supported by world imperialism.

The weakening of positions of European powers was received by the U.S. with concern over the destinies of colonialism and capitalism in that continent, on the one hand, and viewed as a real opportunity to use the situation that had arisen to strengthen positions of American monopoly capital in the African continent, on the other. Washington set out to give currency to the idea of a vacuum having allegedly been formed in Africa which the United States, as the most powerful member of "the free community of nations", must fill in.

Washington is most afraid that socialist ideas may grow stronger and become a reality in Africa. In view of the fact that the anti-imperialist revolution in Africa is taking place in new historical conditions, at a time when the prospects of a number of African countries following a non-capitalist path of development are becoming more and more discernible, Washington has thrown the entire neo-colonialist machine in top gear. To launch Africa on the capitalist road of development is the major strategic goal of the United States.

Nor should we forget the great interest which the U.S. shows in natural resources of Africa. American, and not only American, but European monopolies, too, are engaged in mining diamonds and cobalt, platinum and gold, magnesium and chromium, manganese and copper as well as other minerals in Africa. The continent serves for them as a store-house of most valuable minerals, and monopolies certainly do not wish to see the keys to the door in the hands of Africans themselves.

Nevertheless, despite the desire of the Eisenhower administration to formulate a more active U.S. foreign policy course in Africa, it had undergone no marked changes till the late fifties. The reasons were few. All indications are that the major reason was Washington's reluctance to extremely aggravate differences with its West European partners, all of them metropolises in the past, on whose close ties U.S. influence in Western Europe and NATO was largely dependent. In view of the relative weakness of its positions in Africa, Washington thought it wise to lean for some time on the old colonial powers there and involve them in sharing costs of maintaining imperialist influence in this region. And these costs–loans, credits, military, scientific and technical assistance, food supplies and other–are very high, indeed.

But even at the early stage Washington's relatively cautious tactics in Africa would immediately be replaced by "big stick" policy as soon as American monopolies felt their interests were really threatened. This was the case in the Congo (Kinshasa) in 1960 when U.S. imperialism put aside its policy of flirtation and stopped at nothing. Under the U.N. flag the United States forced its way into the Congo to consolidate economic positions of American trusts there.

1960 was a notable land-mark in U.S. policies in Africa. It was in that year that the national liberation movement in the continent obtained tangible results in many of its countries in the form of a large number of newly-independent states that came into existence there. This process was reflected in a more active U.S. policy in Africa under President Kennedy and later this expansionist course was further developed by President Johnson and his administration.

So, in terms of time, the U.S. expansion in Africa began much later than the expansion of European capitalist powers. Yet in the last decade U.S. imperialism has clearly sought to make up for what was lost in Africa earlier and is trying to spread its influence wher-

ever it appears advantageous, including the R.S.A. where Washington pursues its own particular goals.

It would be wrong, in our view, to estimate U.S. influence in Africa, the R.S.A. included, only in terms of investments and trade. Total public and private investments of the United States in Africa now amount to about 3,000 million dollars. Although in terms of investments the U.S. rates fourth, lagging behind Britain, France and Belgium, it is very indicative that since 1960 American private investments have more than doubled.

The U.S. attaches exclusively great importance to the ideological expansion in Africa. That is why it is actively penetrating the education system of Africa, regarding this penetration as a long-term "social investment" aimed at boosting U.S. influence in the continent. At present there are over 40 research centres in the United States, mainly at Universities where specialists in African affairs are trained. According to the latest reports, 1,500 people are receiving training and doing research in African problems there.

It is worth noting that American diplomacy shows an ever growing interest in the evil trinity of Forster, Salazar and Smith, a bloc of South African colonialists and racialists. This reactionary alliance patched up under the auspicies of the United States, Britain and West Germany has become strong both economically and militarily. The shock troops of the colonialists in Southern Africa are aimed, not in the least, against the independent African nations. Thus, the U.S. has not only joined the European colonial powers which are trying to hold on to their positions in Africa, but has become the leading force in fighting the national-liberation movement, the main stronghold of neo-colonialism in the African continent.

All these features of U.S. policies in Africa are most directly reflected in the U.S. tactics in the R.S.A., making clear many aspects of the U.S. expansion in that country.

At the same time it should be noted that Washington's policy in the R.S.A. is affected in no small measure by the specific political situation in that country, which is well-known, indeed. The U.S. expansion in the R.S.A. is also explained by the fact that the latter's Government is pursuing in the international scene and particularly in the African continent a policy to the liking of U.S. imperialism, in other words, a policy of weakening the movement of national liberation there, of undermining African unity, hammered out in the course of fighting imperialism. More than that the R.S.A. Government willingly flings the doors wide open for American monopoly capital, seeking to exploit natural resources of that country. Finally, the R.S.A. Government also readily meets the military and strategic plans of the U.S. Government which regards the R.S.A. as a force de frappe of colonialists in the African continent, a force aimed both against the movement of national liberation and against the independent African countries.

So, actually, in every major aspect of its policies in Africa the U.S. now finds cooperation and support of the R.S.A. racialist regime and, in return, assists that regime itself. This trend in relations between the U.S. and the R.S.A. creates a political climate favourable for U.S. monopolies to carry on their expansion in the R.S.A.

The analysis of relations between the U.S. and the R.S.A. indicates that soon after the Second World War the U.S. Government embarked on a policy of securing with the help of South African racialists a solid foothold for U.S. monopoly capital in Southern Africa. To achieve this, in particular, a wide range of inter-Government agreements was used on a large scale.

First, financial relations between the two countries were "put in order". In April 1945 an agreement was signed on settling accounts connected with various types of mutual aid and in March 1947 an agreement on settling Lend-Lease accounts, followed by a series of far-reaching agreements, of which the Mutual Defense Agreement of November 9, 1951 and air agreements concluded in May 1947 and February 1955 should be mentioned in the first place. Another series of agreements, known as "tax agreements, were signed by the two Governments between 1946 and 1952. Finally, on August 22, 1955 an agreement was signed on cooperation in the field of civil application of atomic energy and on September 13, 1960 an agreement, providing for the establishment and maintenance of tracking stations. Agreements were also concluded between the U.S. and the R.S.A. in the fields of education, trade, consular relations, information and post.[1] All these facts indicate that relations between the U.S. and the R.S.A. already after the Second World War left a relatively passive stage and began to move forward at a rather quick pace, with Government levers playing an increasingly active part.

Let us consider now the economic aspect of relations between the U.S. and the R.S.A.

The R.S.A. represents for the U.S. an important source of such strategic materials as uranium ore, platinum, beryllium, lithium, zirconium and hafnium. To meet the needs of her economy and the needs of the modern military-industrial complex, the U.S. receives from the R.S.A. such valuable minerals as nickel, tantalum, vanadium, niobium, chronium and industrial diamonds. Besides, the U.S. exports from the R.S.A. large quantities of gold.

In recent years some of the American oil companies grew active in prospecting for and increasing the recovery of oil in the R.S.A. American financiers are planning not only to recover off-shore oil in South West Africa but also to mine diamonds there. For this purpose, an American Marine Diamond Corporation was especially set up in South West Africa,[2] which was later taken over by the world diamond monopoly De Beers.

The U.S. attaches exclusively great importance to the consolidation of the positions of American private investors in the R.S.A. It is worth noting that direct private investments in the R.S.A. at present amount to 30 per cent of the total American investments in Africa. In 1950 private American investments in the R.S.A. amounted to 140 million dollars. The rates of growth may be illustrated by the following figures:

1960 – 286 million dollars,
1961 – 311 million dollars,
1962 – 357 million dollars,
1963 – 411 million dollars,
1964 – 468 million dollars,
1965 – 528 million dollars.

However, taking into account portfolio investments, the total volume of American investments in the R.S.A. was 655 million dollars in early 1965, that is, 14 per

1 Treaties in Force, Department of State, January 1, 1965, p. 170
2 U.S. News and World Report, October 31, 1966

cent of the total foreign investments in the R.S.A.[3] American investments in the R.S.A. continued to grow in the subsequent years too, reaching a level of 750 million dollars in 1967.[4] American investments have one peculiar feature – they grow chiefly at the expense of the reinvestment of profits received by American monopolists in the R.S.A. itself.

The main fields of American private investments in the R.S.A. economy by 1965 were: the processing industry (192 million dollars), the mining industry (68 million dollars), trade (51 million dollars), the textile, paper and oil industries (157 million dollars). By 1968 there were operation in the R.S.A. all in all 275 American companies at a profit exceeding 100 million dollars a year.[5] At present the U.S. is laying the groundwork for occupying the dominating positions in the economy of that country, pushing Britain aside. Even now American Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler have dominated the R.S.A. market, accounting for 60 per cent of the total automobile output of the country.[6] By 1960 one General Motors automobile plant in Port Elizabeth had produced 750,000 automobiles alone.[7]

The picture of the U.S. expansion in the R.S.A. becomes clearer, if we consider the trade between these two countries. The following figures give an idea of the struggle that the United States has to wage against its imperialist rivals to win the R.S.A. market.[8]

Share of the leading capitalist countries in their trade with the R.S.A. (per cent)

	1950	1955	1960	1964	1965
Britain	39.7	32.9	28.3	28.5	28.2
U.S.A.	15.3	21.4	18.9	19.0	18.8
Japan	2.9	2.2	4.1	5.3	5.7
West Germany	2.4	5.9	10.0	10.8	10.9
Canada	4.5	4.1	3.5	3.0	2.8
Italy	2.2	1.6	2.8	3.0	4.0
France	1.6	1.4	2.1	2.7	2.7

As a result, the British Sunday Times, a spokesman for the British business circles, has to admit that the position of Britain in her trade with the R.S.A. in the last 15 years has been constantly deteriorating and that the R.S.A. Government does not necessarily turn mainly to Britain as ist major trade partner.[9]

No matter how important economic interests of American monopolists in the R.S.A. may be, of no less importance in accelerating the U.S. expansion in that country are military and strategic interests of Washington in Southern Africa. The Washington political circles do not conceal the fact that the U.S. attaches major strategic importance to the R.S.A. in its military plans.

At present, the R.S.A. has become an important U.S. naval base. Former Assistant Secretary for African affairs Mennen Williams, speaking in the House Foreign Relations Committee in March 1966, said that the position of the R.S.A. near the sea route going around the Cape of Good Hope, makes her seaports very useful for the U.S. Navy, particularly in providing assistance to ships of the Atlantic Fleet sailing to and from Vietnam.[10]

At a time when the route through the Mediterranean happens to be closed, the importance of the sea route through the Cape of Good Hope has tremendously grown for the United States.

There are also American military and communication bases in the territory of the R.S.A. They play an important part in American space programmes, in which a military aspect is of no less importance.

Fairly recently, in March 1965, President of the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation Nordstad, the same general Norstad, who was at one time the Supreme Allied commander of NATO forces in Europe, came to the R.S.A. on a business trip. He had talks on new investments of his Corporation in the R.S.A. economy and made a statement to the effect that the American business world had the full confidence in South Africa. He also denounced the U.N. economic sanctions against the R.S.A. This tender care of the former Supreme Allied commander of NATO forces in Europe about the Pretoria Government is highly indicative in view of the fact that the South African bloc of colonialists and racialists has now in fact become a NATO affiliate. NATO and the reactionary South African bloc are spearheaded against the national liberation movement in Southern Africa, against the strengthening of the independent African states.

The U.S. Government and representatives of American monopoly capital are fully responsible for the existence in South Africa of a racialist regime, which threatens the independent Africa and impedes the elimination of colonialism in neighbouring countries.

3 Press-Release, Department of Commerce, Statement by Assistant Secretary of Commerce, A. Trowbridge, in the House Foreign Relations Committee. March 2, 1966

4 Foreign Commerce Information Bulletin (F.C.I.B.), October 31, 1968

5 Ibid.

6 Fortune, December 1966, p. 180

7 Time, August 1966, p. 20

8 The Sunday Times, July 30, 1967

9 Ibid.

10 The Department of State Bulletin, March 21, 1966, p. 434

E. HOSSZU, HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Apartheid and Education

Apartheid, this oppression of human rights, established by law, is immoral to such a degree that its immorality needs no special proof. It is our task to elucidate, from various aspects, in which fields of socio-economic life this mediaeval policy finds expression.

Whatever social problem we choose to analyse, the reactionary nature of apartheid in impeding any development is obvious. This is true also in the sphere of culture. The white minority in South Africa finds itself compelled to give the oppressed a minimum of education. But in doing this, they are not compelled by charitableness but reluctantly follow a necessity. Reluctantly, because the racial politicians have learnt full well from history that education of the oppressed awakens their consciousness. Knowing this, the representatives of all unjust and anachronistic regimes have a partly conscious, partly spontaneous, fear of educating. It is necessary to recognize and expose this inherent contradiction in the Apartheid regime's cultural policy in relation to non-white people.

Let us look at some statistical data. A 1967 UNESCO report, "Apartheid, its Effect on Education, Science,

Culture and Information", said with reference to the South African Republic: "In the instruction of Africans, special value is attached to mass acquirement of skills in writing and reading, as well as to the lower classes of primary school. Doubtlessly, the present South African Government has achieved certain successes in this field."

But let us have a closer look at these successes. The figures, viewed in the African context, are not unfavourable. Of the 2.2 million Africans, aged between seven and fourteen, more than 1.5 million attend school, which seems to be a favourable proportion. The large number of children, however, who leave school prematurely indicates that aggregate figures do not give a picture of the actual situation. The number of seven-year-old children who actually enter school represents almost all the seven-year-olds, i. e. 400,000. Premature eliminations, however, begin from the very first class, and the number of pupils leaving school prematurely rapidly increases from class to class. By the second school year already, the total is reduced by 100,000; and by the third year there remain only 50 per cent of those originally put to school! In 1962 the number of pupils in the upper four classes of primary school numbered only one-third of the pupils of the four lower classes. Compared to European standards this indicates an extremely low standard of education, as in fact only every fifth or sixth child in each age-group has a chance of finishing elementary school.

Why then does the UNESCO report refer to successes? On the one hand UNESCO related its figures to earlier school-entry totals, and on the other hand to the educational standard achieved in other African countries.

In this respect the South African Republic may appear to keep abreast of the newly independent African countries. But the racialist policy should not be sought for in mere numbers. The decisive criteria are:

1. What does the educational system give to the Africans?

2. What sum does the state allocate from its total budget for education?

3. What does the educational system give to the whites in the same country?

Question 1. The educational task of an elementary school can only be judged within the framework of the entire school system; its name indicates that it forms the basis for another step. Elementary school on the one hand imparts elementary skills and knowledge, required for taking up work and adapting to society by those who will not go in for advanced education; on the other hand it prepares for high school those who have chosen vocations which require higher education. The following analysis will show how this double function is reflected in figures.

In 1963, 53,000 Africans attended the first five classes of the lower-grade secondary school. The number of pupils in the highest two classes, however, amounted to only 3,000. Of the 400,000 pupils of the different age-groups, about 20,000 reached the lower-grade secondary school, their number receding to 10,000 in the third class, and to 1,000 in the fifth class.

Let us compare these unambiguous figures with those of other African countries. Of the total number of African pupils attending primary and lower-grade secondary schools in South Africa, only 3.3 per cent attended lower-grade secondary school. Of the total number of pupils at elementary and lower-grade secondary schools in Ghana, 23 per cent attended the lower-grade secondary school in 1962. For other African countries the figures are: Nigeria 7.6 per cent, Congo (Leopoldville) 3.1 per cent, Tanzania 4.9 per cent.

Surveying these figures it should be taken into account that these countries, which gained independence only a few years ago, have not yet had the time to expand their network of secondary schools. The figures for the Congo and Tanzania are naturally a reflection on the old colonial conditions. In Nigeria, where in the southern parts of the country a developed elementary school system existed in former times, it was possible to start from a more favourable position. And in Ghana, which gained independence in the mid-fifties, a modern educational structure had been developed within a few years. Future development will be characterised by the fact that the independent African countries endeavour to improve the role of lower-grade secondary schools in their educational systems. Already by 1964/65 the structure of the educational systems of many African countries was more favourable for the future than that of the South African Republic.

While the liberated African countries have developed their school systems, taking into consideration both functions of elementary school, in the South African Republic one of these two functions–to impart basic knowledge to those who will not attend higher school–is being distorted, and the other one–to prepare pupils for higher studies–is not being fulfilled.

The curriculum of primary schools for Africans in South Africa provides only the most primitive, most elementary knowledge, only as much as is needed to prepare the Africans for their function as an oppressed stratum labouring in factories, mines and agriculture. The most elementary knowledge and skills in writing, reading and counting are today indispensable. Even people doing the roughest work are unable to do so economically without this elementary knowledge. In the newly independent states, however, people with elementary school education are able to hold important positions in society, and people are prepared for this aim at school. The emergent countries make all-out efforts to educate its full labour force as citizens of the state, whereas the South African Republic is interested in creating inferior, unskilled workers who possess only a minimum of education.

As to the second function of elementary education, i.e. the preparation of pupils for higher education at lower-grade secondary schools, colleges or universities, so that as qualified persons they are able to hold leading posts in society–it goes without saying that this is out of question in the South African Republic.

Question 2. The policy behind the educational system becomes even more obvious when comparing it with the country's economic potential. It is a generally established fact that the South African Republic, measured against the national income, belongs to the developed capitalist countries. It would be injust to compare the educational system of such a country with those of other African countries which have a per capita income of only 100 dollars. For the newly independent countries the extension and maintenance of the educational system is a substantial economic burden. Nevertheless, they make this sacrifice and immense efforts to guarantee higher education for more and more children. The South Afri-

can Republic, however, which could afford to impart to its entire population an education up to European standards, deliberately denies this possibility to the majority of its population. The South African Republic, compared with other developed capitalist countries, gains specific profits from the fact that it withholds social and cultural benefits from the groups which make up the overwhelming majority of the population.

Question 3. This contrast becomes even deeper when comparing these data with those of school education for the ruling stratum, which presents a picture similar to that in Europe.

White children all complete elementary school, and almost all of them carry on to secondary school. The percentage receiving university education is rapidly nearing European figures. It is obvious that the South African Republic pursues a different policy with respect to education of the white population than of other population groups. Secondary school education for whites, which is almost general, educates cadres for the ruling stratum. South Africa, with a total population of 18 million, reserves those positions requiring higher or university education for a small stratum of only 3,5 million. Thus higher education of the white has to a certain degree become a means of oppression. We have nothing against educational possibilities for the white. What we condemn is the fact that the society of the propertied denies to a majority of the population that education which it grants to a minority.

The data given in my contribution furnish ample proof that the educational policy of the South African Republic is a part of Apartheid, and bears all its disgusting features. Its school system endeavours to fulfil two tasks at once: to impart to the oppressed people a necessary educational minimum which they require for doing the work to which they are limited; and to see to it that their education does not surpass this necessary minimum. Every oppressive system is aware of the great danger in the oppressed people acquiring higher education, and thus becoming more aware of their situation. This is why the Apartheid regime pursues an educational policy which prevents the further intellectual development of non-white people.

But the system of oppression in the South African Republic can no longer lull itself into security, however it tries to stabilize the Apartheid system, such as in the cultural sector. In a South Africa which has become aware of its situation, this colonial-type cultural oppression is no longer able to uphold a system which is worse than the colonialism from which it emerged, and whose existence in the second half of the 25th century is a glaring anachronism.

V. Y. KATSMAN (U.S.S.R.)

Independent African States and Progressive Forces of the World in their Struggle against the Racists and Colonialists of South Africa

The struggle of the peoples of the Republic of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Angola and Mozambique against domination and exploitation, against the supremacy of white colonialists and racists, for freedom and independence is of utmost importance for the future of the entire African continent. Successful termination of this struggle will bring forth the complete collapse of colonialism in Africa. This is why the unity of all national liberation forces in the south of Africa and their close links with the contemporary revolutionary forces obtain particular significance.

In their struggle the Africans from the southern portion of the continent feel the support of the absolute majority of African independent states. They also have a faithful ally in the form of all progressive stages and organizations of the world.

Support accorded the national liberation movement by these forces is manifold and is increasing year in and year out.

The sovereign African states, most of which have only recently won political independence, are natural allies of the struggling peoples of the South. As is known the core of the national liberation movement of the African nations is the struggle against imperialism and one of its most vivid manifestations–colonialism. Therefore it is quite natural and logical that the absolute majority of organizations and parties of the African liberation movement and of the independent countries of Africa are foes of colonialism and of its by-product in the form of racism.

The existence in the south of Africa of a coalition of reactionaries, of a bloc of forces which suppress and exploit the Africans and pursue a policy of discrimination and genocide, evokes the wrath and condemnation on the part of the free Africa and accentuates the problem of aid to the suppressed peoples of Africa. It is necessary to underscore the fact that the struggle against the reactionaries of the south of Africa is indispensable from the point of view of maintaining independence of the sovereign states, the safeguarding of their security from the potential threat of the colonialists.

The late fifties witnessed the first manifestations of the African states to abstain from diplomatic relations with support of fighters against racism in the south of Africa.

At the First Conference of African Nations in Accra in December 1958 a great deal of attention was devoted to the problem of the south of Africa. In the resolution on racial discrimination the Conference appealed to the African states to obstain from diplomatic relations with those countries of the African continent which pursue the policy of racial discrimination. The spearhead of this recommendation was aimed at the racists of South Africa. The resolution on racial discrimination adopted at the First Conference of African Nations played later an important role in focusing the attention of the African states on South African problems, as it promoted the idea of a complete boycott of the racist state by the independent countries and states struggling for their freedom.

Relations with the racist republic in the south of Afrika were discussed at the Second and Third Conference of African Nations, as well as at other all-African and regional political forums. All this played an important part in the mobilization of public opinion in Africa and in the entire progressive world against the racists of South Africa.

Definite actions against the racists on an all-African scale began as the result of conferences of independent African states. The first conference of this kind took

place in April 1958 in Accra. The Conference called for a just solution of South-West Africa problem and condemned the racial policy of the government of South Africa.

Resolutions and decisions of the Second Conference of Independent African States which was held in June 1960, pointed out the necessity of accepting most urgent measures for the liquidation of colonialism and racial suppression in the south of Africa.

The Conference of Heads of Independent African States which met in Addis-Ababa in May 1963, denounced the formation of a reactionary bloc in the south of Africa with still greater firmness. As is known this Conference created the Organization of African Unity. The Statute of the Organization was accepted and numerous decisions and resolutions were approved, which aimed the African liberation movement at struggle for the final liberation of the continent from colonialism and imperialism.

The principal resolution of the Conference, entitled Decolonization, put forward the task of offering aid to countries under oppressive rule of colonialism. It underscored that the majority of territories in Africa, which still remain dependent, were under the sway of foreign settlers. The Conference served notice on England, that if power is usurped by the white minority in Rhodesia, African states will morally and materially support the national forces in the country. The Conference once again brought attention to the abnormal situation in South-West Africa and supported the right of peoples of South-West Africa to self-determination and independence.

In the same Resolution the Conference passed a decision to sever diplomatic and consular relations of all African states with the governments of Portugal and South Africa and demanded the establishment of effective boycott of foreign trade of these countries.

This Conference accepted also a Resolution concerning apartheid and racial discrimination, where once again concrete steps were drafted on the offering of aid to the victims of racism and on intensification of the struggle against racist regimes.

The Conference called on all countries of the world to join in the boycott of the South African state and to condemn racial discrimination and its manifestations throughout the world.

The first session of the Assembly of the Heads of States and Governments of the OAU accepted a resolution on apartheid in South Africa which noted, that the situation in South Africa constituted a serious threat to peace and international security.

In a special resolution concerning the situation in South Rhodesia, the Declaration on Independence, approved by the white minority, was strongly criticized. African leaders supported the African liberation movement in the country and called on all African states to offer them aid. The Resolution, regarding the situation in the territories under Portuguese rule, was of a similar militant character. The significance of the activities of the Committee of Liberation, aimed at offering aid to national liberation movements in Africa, was also underscored. The Committee was charged with the task of aiding revolutionary parties of the South in preparing trained military personnel, as well as supplying them with armaments, munition and equipment.

Most African governments are sharply critical of the southern racists and colonialists. But it would be an exaggeration to believe that they all share the same conviction as to the ways and means of liquidating the reactionary regimes.

African states supported the freedom fighters in the countries of the South through various inter-governmental channels. Their action was especially strong within the framework of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Under the pressure from African states the R.S.A. was compelled to leave the Commonwealth. In recent years the Rhodesian problem never fails to be on the agenda. The sessions of the Conference were especially turbulent in January and September of 1966. It would suffice to note, that out of a total of ten days of the last Conference, nine were spent on ironing out one single problem, now to put an end to the racist regime of Ian Smith. The African members of the Commonwealth demanded rigorous measures against the racists.

Hand in hand with the independent African states, various progressive forces in the world lend their weight against the last bastions of racism and colonialism on the African continent. A major part is played in this sphere by the Socialist states. By offering aid to the developing countries the Socialist countries support the liberation movements in all of South Africa. The Socialist states give considerable attention to the use of various international organizations, the United Nations in particular, for a joint effort with other progressive countries in their drive against racism and colonialism.

Terroristic racial policy in the R.S.A. was brought before the session of the Security Council. Thus the United Nations turned from numerous discussions and a multitude of resolutions condemning the policy of discrimination of the non-white population of South Africa, and containing mere appeals to the racist government to change its policy, toward straight forward recommendations. In 1962 the 16th Session of the General Assembly was forced to accept concrete recommendations for countering apartheid, under the pressure from Socialist and Afro-Asian countries. The inidvidual and collective measures, recommended by the General Assembly in conformity with the U.N. charter. Limitations and sanctions against the R.S.A., passed by the General Assembly were later used as a basis for all recommendations of various organizations, including the OAU.

Simultaneously with the campaign against racism of South Africa, a continuous struggle was being waged within the United Nations to revise the status of South-West Africa. At the very first sessions of the General Assembly of the U.N. the question was raised of depriving South Africa of the right to govern this territory, which it refused to turn over to U.N. custody.

In 1953 the General Assembly inaugurated a special Committee on South-West Africa, which was charged with the task of looking after all problems concerning the plight of the population of this land.[1] The Committee undertook a number of steps, endeavouring to send its representatives to SWA for a report on the situation. Nevertheless the R.S.A. government did not permit the representatives of the Committee to enter the country, so that the latter were compelled to limit themselves to studying petitions which were received at the U.N. from different organizations and private citizens of SWA.

Representatives of African states in the various bodies of the U.N. supported, as a rule, all moves against

1 U.N.O. Report of the Committee on South-West Africa. General Assembly. Official Reports. 13th Session, Rep. 12, New York, 1958, p. 1

apartheid and colonialism, and displayed initiative for passing the sternest possible sanctions against a country which violates the U.N. charter. It should be noted that the numerous resolutions, including the boycott of R.S.A. goods and the embargo on its export, motioned by representatives of Socialist and progressive countries of the world, were not accepted by the U.N. bodies because of opposition from major imperialist states. This happened at the Security Council's session in 1963, as well as during the following years.

The refusal of the World Court to consider the status of SWA was inspired by the leading imperialist countries. It is not surprising that this decision met with considerable disapproval throughout the world. As a result, the U.N. General Assembly passed special resolution on October 27, 1966, in accordance with which the SAR was deprived of its mandate over SWA. Thus the progressive forces in the U. N. scored an important victory. Numerous newspaper of the African continent hailed the decision of the U.N.

The 21st and 22nd sessions of the U.N. General Assemblies passed recommendations on concrete measures of removing SWA from under the jurisdiction of the Republic of South Africa.

No doubt that all of the said decisions and resolutions play a vital part in condemning the aggressor. It is unfortunate, though, that this particular recommendation of the General Assembly regarding SWA, just as many others, so far have remained on paper only. The reactionary forces of the R.S.A., conscious of the support from imperialist states, are in no hurry to carry out the decisions of United Nations.

In this context it is necessary to mention, that it is due only to the sabotage on the part of the imperialist states that the "Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries", passed by the 15th session of the General Assembly in December 1960, is not being implemented. And despite the creation of a special "Committee of '24'" in accordance with the above Declaration to supervise the execution of the U.N. decision, the Portuguese colonialists maintained their positions in South Africa.

This is just the reason why the progressive forces in the U.N. won the support of the majority in the General Assembly which, in December 1964, passed a resolution that recommended all member-countries of the U.N. to offer moral and material assistance in co-operation with the OAU to the peoples on territories under Portuguese jurisdiction. The Resolution also recommended to apply the same sanctions against the Portuguese government as were used in dealing with the R.S.A., that is: to sever diplomatic relations with the government of Portugal, to shut off all ports to shipping sailing under the Portuguese flag, to ban Portuguese airlines form using airports and the air space of other countries for transit flights, to boycott foreign trade.[2]

A year later the Committee of 24 passed a resolution in Dar es Salaam which recommended all countries, including Portugal's NATO allies, to withhold all shipments of armaments to that country.

In June 1966 the Committee of 24 once again, having condemned the colonialistic policy of Portugal in Africa, voiced deep concern over the situation in South Rhodesia.

2 U.N. General Assembly. 21st Session. 1966. Report of Special Committee Regarding the Implementation of the Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries. New York, 1966, pp. 5–6

The problem of South Rhodesia also had widespread repercussions within the U.N. More than that, for the first time in its twenty one year old history the United Nations in December 1966 passed a resolution on the use of obligatory economic sanctions. An international embargo was set up concerning 90 per cent of Rhodesian exports, and a ban was introduced regarding the sale of oil, arms, motor vehicles, aircraft and the furnishing of financial and economic aid to South Rhodesia by all members of the U.N.[3]

The Resolution carried no definite sanctions and it is of no surprise that many African states criticized it. Nevertheless it should be noted, that the fact of passing these resolutions on the withdrawal of the mandate over SWA and on Rhodesia is, in itself, a testimony of serious advances that progressive forces have attained in the United Nations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the world's reactionary elements stepped forth with accusations of these resolutions.

The activities of progressive countries in the U.N. are supplemented by a massive front of anti-colonial and anti-racist international, social and governmental organizations, as well as by direct aid from separate countries to the fighting South. Thus, for instance, the recommendation by the U.N. General Assembly of creating a special fund to aid the victims of apartheid was upheld by a number of countries, which made voluntary contributions. Among them were the Soviet Union, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and India.

Serious criticism was levelled at the policy of colonialists and racists of the south of Africa at the sessions of UNESCO. This organization started with condemning the policy of apartheid and ended with expelling the R.S.A. from its ranks. The UNESCO membres were harsh in condemning the government of Portugal and Rhodesia.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) as far back as 1963 passed a resolution of barring the representative of the R.S.A. from being present at some of its sessions. Later the R.S.A. was expelled from ILO membership. Similar decisions were also passed by the International Civil Aviation Organization, International Telecommunication Union, the International Lawyers' Organization, and by a number of others.

Various organizations were formed in some countries with the aim of campaigning for the benefit of South Africa's freedom fighters. In England there is the "Movement against the Policy of Apartheid in R.S.A.", while "The Fund for Protection and Support for the Africans of R.S.A.", strives to aid political detainees in the R.S.A. and emigrants.

Progressive international organizations of workers, journalists, writers, and youth movements are constantly voicing sharp condemnation of the reactionary regimes in the south of Africa. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has appointed a committee of inquiry into the crimes committed by South African racists. After a number of sessions in Moscow, New Delhi and Accra, the Committee issued an indictment against the rulers of South Africa.

The International Democratic Federation of Women has repeatedly opposed the policy of discrimination and genocide in South Africa. The World Federation of Democratic Trade Unions stands on similar ground. The

3 "Time", 23/12/1966, p. 25

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, following the lead of WFDTU, approved the expulsion of the SAR from the ILO and called on all its organizations to join in the sanctions against the R.S.A.

Serious work is being conducted by the Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity in mobilizing public opinion throughout the world against the vile powers of reaction in the south of Africa. In February 1967 a session of the Council of this organization passed resolutions supporting the freedom fighters in the R.S.A., SWA, South Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. The joint declaration stated that representatives of the peoples of Asia and Africa solemnly declare their determination to continue the struggle against imperialism, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.[4]

In its resolution concerning the situation in the Portuguese colonies, the session of the Council called on all Asian and African countries, all organizations of solidarity of Asian and African countries, and all progressive organizations of the world to step up their material aid to the peoples of Portuguese colonies as their liberation movement gathers momentum. In its resolutions on Zimbabwe the Council asserted its solidarity with the freedom fighters, and deemed it as its task to call on all nations and countries to increase aid to the people of Zimbabwe. Regarding South Africa, the Council passed a resolution which condemns the wild arms race which is being spirited by the racial and fascist South African regime, and supports the African people and freedom fighters, asserting that it is full of determination to offer ever-growing aid to the African National Congress, which has been mobilizing the people for the decisive armed struggle in the name of liberating their enslaved country.[5]

Now, to summarize, it would be worth while to stress that the struggle against colonialism and reaction, against racism and the stooges of imperialism in the south of Africa is being implemented along a wide front formed by African and progressive international forces. This struggle is of a multiform character, but its principal ideas reflect themselves along two lines. The first direction is the movement towards economic and political stability and autonomy of the independent African states, towards unity of these countries and the strengthening of their positions in the fight against neocolonialism. The second line manifests itself in the stepping up of the national liberation movement of the peoples in the south of Africa, in energetic activities of the majority of independent African states in aiding the freedom fighters, as well as in actions, directed against the racists and colonialists of the South; this line also embraces activities of progressive forces in international organizations and unions, the mobilization of public opinion of the world and in all of the advanced countries of the world in order to oppose the attempts of imperialism to strengthen its positions in the south of Africa. Most of these forces are still unconnected, but with every passing year the tendency toward unity gathers pace and in this lies the guarantee of the future victory, the certainty of the liquidation of colonialism and of the racist policy in the countries of South Africa.

4 XIIIth Session of the Council of the Permanent Organization for Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity, Nicosia, 1967, rep. No. 1, p. 5

5 Ditto, rep. No. 3/27

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LESOTHO

The Role of the Working-Class and the Perspective of the Southern African National–Democratic Revolution

The Lesotho delegation sincerely thanks the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic for the invitation to take part in this important international conference on the struggle against racialism and neocolonialism for liberation in Southern Africa. There is no doubt that Southern Africa today stands as the last hope of the Colonialists on the African Continent and there is also no doubt that the whole of progressive mankind regards the Southern African Liberation Movement as a strategic anticolonial front whose victory is bound to have a tremendous impact on the world-wide struggle against imperialism, for national independence, peace and socialism.

In this conference, brilliant papers have already been presented by various speakers on the manifold aspects of the Southern African struggle against fascism, neocolonialism, for liberation. I have in mind papers presented by Dr. H. Schilling, Dr. Solodovnikov, Comrade Dama Nokwe and many others presented by our friends from the revolutionary democratic parties of Southern Africa.

In my short contribution to the discussion of these papers I intend to dwell only on the question of the perspective of the great Southern African National Democratic Revolution, on the position and role of the working-class and the working-class party in the processes of the liquidation of neo-fascism, racialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Southern Africa.

I. The great National Democratic Revolution of Southern Africa

The whole of Southern Africa to-day is on the path of a great National Democratic Revolution. The content of this revolution is the liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism and neo-fascism for the attainment of national independence and national democracy. By its nature this revolution is democratic with the worker-peasant alliance as its social basis, while accepting as allies other anti-imperialist forces in the camp of the National Democratic Front.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the general manifests itself in the particular; from this it follows that only by applying the dialectial method of combining the general and the particular can a correct analyses be made and a correct strategy be worked out in each particular region of Southern African National Democratic Revolution.

When working out its particular strategy for the anti-neocolonial struggle in Lesotho, the Communist Party of Lesotho always takes into serious consideration the general strategy of the anti-colonial movement of Southern Africa.

The Republic of South Africa is a colonial power in Southern Africa playing a special role and fullfilling a special function for world imperialism. In the Republic of South Africa the most reactionary group of the monopoly bourgeoisie, represented by the Nationalist Party has established a neo-fascist regime and subjects the African people of South Africa to both social and

national oppression. The antifascist and anti-colonial liberation movement in the Republic of South Africa headed by the African National Congress has advanced national liberations as its immediate goal. The fraternal South African Communist Party fully supports the armed struggle led by the A.N.C. against the fascist-colonial regime for national independence and national democracy.

In South West Africa, which the fascist Republik of South Africa regards as its special and exclusive colony, the anti-colonial struggle headed by South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) has entered a new phase of armed revolt. In Rhodesia, since the Ian Smith racialist-colonial clique seized power with the connivance of the British Colonialists, the anti-colonial struggle under the leadership of Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) has entered a new and critical phase. The ANC-ZAPU military alliance has already engaged the joint forces of Smith and Voster in heroic and historic battles of Wankie. In Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO and in Angola under the leadership of MPLA, the people's armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism has already scored brillant military and political successes.

Lesotho and Botswana have recently won formal political independence from the British Colonialists, however, these two states are now languishing under thc grip of neocolonialism, and the anti-neocolonial struggle for genuine political and economic independence in these countries is still on the political agenda. With the Leabua Jonathan clique orientated towards the fascist Republic of South Africa, there exists a real danger of Lesotho losing even its formal political sovereignty and being turned into an exclusive neo-colony of the fascist Republic of South Africa, a Bantustan of a new type. The Lesotho anti-imperialist forces, including the Communist Party of Lesotho, have thoroughly exposed the neo-colonial character of the Ledbua Jonathan regime, and struggle resolutely against neo-colonialism for genuine and durable national independance.

Swaziland is on the eve of independence, but all signs show that the fate of Swaziland is that of Lesotho and Botswana–the fate of neo-colonialism and absolute economic and political dependence on the fascist Republic of South Africa.

However, the diversity of the Southern African National Democratic Revolution, according to its particular regions and detachments does not in anyway negate its general uniformity and unity. The general question of the Southern African Revolution is the struggle against colonialism for national independence. But if we are to be even more precise, we have to single out the fascist Republic of South Africa as the special common enemy of all the liberation movements in Southern Africa. South African fascist-colonialism is a special instrument of world imperialism in the strategy of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation and pillage of Southern Africa. The special mission of South African fascist colonialism is to retard and arrest the further process of the disintegration of colonialism in Southern Africa, to be a watch-man over the economic interests of the monopolies in the whole of Southern Africa. All the genuine liberation movements in Southern Africa understand this situation and stress the need for revolutionary cohesion against world colonialism and its southern forepost–the fascist colonialism of the Republic of South Africa.

2. Some lessons from political and socio-economic development in independent Africa

The National Liberation Movement of the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America against colonialism for national independance is a component part of the world's proletarian struggle against capital. As W. I. Lenin pointed out, there comes a time in world history when a movement which orginally had its aim national independence, in the ultimate end turns against capitalism and takes the socialist path of developments.

In other words, Lenin saw socialism as the perspective of the National Democratic Revolution. We are living in the times predicted by Lenin, when the National Democratic Revolutions develop deeper and grow into socialist revolutions. In his monumental work "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Bourgeois Democratic Revolution," Lenin gave a marxist answer to all the questions of the concrete problems of the transition from a democratic to a socialist revolution. This immortal work of Lenin, still commends itself with validity for the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America where the question of transition from democratic to socialist revolution stands on the political agenda.

In most African countries, political power fell into the hands of the national Bourgeoisie when political independence was won in the course of the liberation movement. The National Bourgeoisie uses newly won political power to further its major economic aim–the development of capitalism. Since the African Bourgeoisie is comparatively economically weak, the whole process of capitalist development in these newly independent African countries takes the character of neo-colonialist capitalist development.

In these conditions foreign monopolies strengthen their already held economic positions in industry, commerce and finance trough massive export of fresh capital to the newly independent African countries. In the jargon of bourgeois economists and sociologists, "political climate" is unfavourable for export of capital to newly independent countries. But bourgeois statistics show that export of capital from imperialist countries to developing countries is increasing. After the Second World War, American and West German Capital have intensivied their penetration in Africa.

Of late the Federal Republic of Germany occupies the second place in the world after the U.S. by rates of export of capital to Africa. Of in 1961 direct investments of the Federal Republic of Germany in Africa were about 170 million West German marks, in 1965 this figure had already risen to 449 million. It is interesting to note that over 40 % of private investments of F.R.G. in Africa are in the fascist Republic of South Africa.

The West German Monopolists make no secret of their motives of exporting capital to Africa. The organ of West German industrial and commercial circles, "Übersee Rundschau" wrote that the motive is not the so-called "development" which one so often hears in Bonn's official neo-colonial jargon, but "profit considerations, which in fact, is higher than in Europe."

In its efforts to assert itself as an economic force, the weak African national Bourgeoisie often employs methods of "bureaucratic" capitalist development or accepts junior partnership with the foreign monopolies in the so-called "mixed companies". But the general economic position of the country in relation to imperia-

lism is not changed by those methods, the newly independent country with national Bourgeois regime develops slugishly along capitalist lines in the general framework of neocolonial exploitation by the foreign monopolies.

A neo-colonial country with a national Bourgeois regime is a country of political reaction, in such a country the economic and social claims of the working-class are ignored, the working-class organizations are persecuted and outlawed, communism as an ideological trend and political movement is illegalized. In foreign affairs such a country rejects the policy of anti-imperialism and persues a pro-imperialist foreign policy. This is the general situation in such countries like Tunesia, Ivory Coast, Cameroun, Ghana, Kenya and many other African countries developing along capitalist lines.

In some newly independent African countries where political power fell into the hands of the national democratic forces, we notice radical and anti-imperialist tendencies in socio-economic development. The deep anti-feudal and anti-imperialist economic transformations that take place in those countries are as a rule termed "socialist" development by the revolutionary democrats. In actual fact these radical economic transformations do not carry a socialist but a democratic character. As a rule they include agrarian reforms liquidating feudalism in favour of the peasants who begin to organize production on cooperative basis. As a rule foreign monopoly property is nationalized and on that basis a state sector is established in industry, commerce and finance.

The path of radical and democratic economic transformations, or non-capitalist development as it is usually termed in Marxist literature is a progressive anti-imperialist development. It promotes the faster economic development of newly independent states, it promotes, the process of economic liberation of a newly independent country from imperialism and creates favourable objective conditions for transition to socialism.

This is the path of development that one notices in the U.A.R., Algeria, Mali, Guinea, Congo-Brazaville and Tanzania.

But it would be incorrect to think that the present nature of non-capitalist development in those countries automatically will end in transition to socialism. The experience of Ghana has forever exploded such illusions among those who held them. In those countries vigorous progress has been made in the shift from a colonial economic structure and the basis of a national economy has been created, the working-class has grown considerably as a result of the process of industrialization, in other words material objective conditions for revolutionary transition to socialism are gradually being created.

But unfortunately there is not corresponding progress as far as the subjective factor is concerned, the working-class is not yet enjoying its leading political role. There is no guarantee of Socialist development in those countries unless the working-class occupies a leading position in all spheres of life. Economic development or economic independence alone without corresponding political development has never brought any country to socialism.

3. Leading role of the working-class – a guarantee of victory of National Democratic Revolution in Southern Africa.

The logic of the development of the National Democratic Revolution is that of ultimate transition to socialism, the perspective of the National Democratic Revolution in Southern Africa is socialism. This cannot be otherwise, in our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world-wide scale.

We in Southern Africa have to be very clear on this issue and leave nobody in doubt about it. We must always grasp this ideological and political perspective of scientific socialism especially because above Zambezi, in independent Africa we notice a proliferation of socialist theories on non-proletarian character.

The so-called "African Socialists" or even the advocates of "Scientific Socialism" among revolutionary democrats preach socialism without the leading role of the working-class and its working-class party. To preach that the role of the vanguard in socialist revolution can be fulfilled by any other class or social layer besides the working-class, to preach that any other party besides a Marxist-Leninist party can lead a socialist revolution is to speak the language of petty-bourgeois utopian socialism and not proletarian scientific socialism.

Marxist-Leninists while advocating creative application of their teaching, should at the same time defend the purity of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, they should always, under any circumstances defend the basic tenets of scientific socialism–the leading role of the proletariat and its class party in the socialist revolution.

In Southern Africa, the theories of non-proletarian socialism, have just no objective justification. Southern Africa is economically the most rightly developed region of Africa. In Southern Africa capitalist development has long reached monopoly stage. The African working-class in Southern Africa is numerically strong and has a proud record of heroic economic and political struggles. Marxist literature found wide distribution in Southern Africa as early as the end of the last century. Marxist-Leninist parties were founded in Southern Africa as early as 1921 and as late as 1962. Some prominent leaders of the revolutionary democratic leaders have been significantly influenced by socialist ideology.

Therefore, if we insist on the hegemony of the proletariat in the phase of the transition from a national democratic to a socialist revolution it is not out of subjective but objective considerations. If we insist on the hegemony of the proletariat in a state of national democracy, it is not out of sectorian or dogmatic considerations, but out of genuine desire to guide and direct the non-capitalist development of a newly independent African country towards the great perspective socialism.

It is true that in independent states of Africa and in embattled Southern Africa there exists revolutionary democratic parties with the character of a United Front of all anti-imperialist forces. These parties of course have all the possibilities of evolving towards Marxism-Leninism in the presence of all necessary conditions. Marxist-Leninist never loose the chance to promote the evolution of revolutionary parties towards Marxism-Leninism and proletarian line. It is only after the consummation of this process of ideological and political evolution that this parties could fulfill the role of vanguard otherwise the establishment of an independent political party of the proletariat becomes an absolute necessity for the prosecution of the socialist revolution.

In concluding my contribution to the discusses I wish once more to express the admiration of our parties for the initiative of the Scientific Council for African, Asian and Latin American Studies in organizing this inter-

national Conference on the struggle against fascism and neo-colonialism for liberation in Southern Africa.

The theme of our Conference is not an easy one, but the historic importance of this Conference is that it provided forum for exchange of views, we hope that the dialogue begun here will continue and forums will be organized of this nature for exchange of views among representatives of the various detachments of the World's Anti-imperialist struggle for national independence peace and socialism.

DR. T. LETOCHA (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF POLAND)

The Ideology of Apartheid

Dear friends,

In my speech I would like te refer to some questions raised by Mrs. Jastrebowa in her very interesting report, namely questions on the ideology of apartheid.

The ideology and practice of apartheid are closely linked to the fact that the Dutch Reformed Church, the ruling Nationalist Party and the state, governed by Afrikanders (Boers) with the support of imperialist powers, form an indivisible unity. This is the very essence of the moderne fascist order in South Africa. The source of apartheid ideology lies in the ideology of the Dutch Reformed Church, which stands as educator and immutable authority for the fanatically religious Afrikander. Two dogmas of their religion were decisive for the formulation of their philosophy: the dogma of destiny containing the idea of absolute predestination, and the dogma of the chosen people. These dogmas run like a thread through the whole Afrikander propaganda. They appear in the speeches of government members and in the party resolutions, they are proclaimed from the pulpit and from the lecturing platform at the university.

But the creators of the apartheid doctrine do not only refer to religious foundations; they also try to find a "scientific" proof. Their thesis is that the most striking and unique phenomenon in the world is the continuing race differentiation of peoples who were created as individual unities. Their division should therefore be continued, they claim, where economic and other conditions lead to the commingling of racial groups. Therefore apartheid ideologists try to establish European chauvinism. Its aim is to guarantee racial purity and, as a result, domination by the white population of South Africa.

According to the theory of apartheid, the white race in South Africa (as the heir of Western European Christian culture) has a twofold mission to accomplish: (a) with respect to the other members of the "community of peoples of the christian civilization" and (b) with respect to the non-white races. According to this theory, which approaches to Hitlerism (which incidentally, is reawakening in West Germany), the white people in South Africa are obliged to maintain and strengthen their role as "partners of Western christian civilization". The supposed mission of the white race which has settled in South Africa, is that of protecting this civilization against "attacks from abroad and subversive action from within". In other words, the white race, although a minority, must by all means maintain its domination over the African people. The thesis of equal rights is abandoned because the white race, as they suppose, cannot allow the political rights they enjoy to Africans, Coloureds or Asians.

In view of the broad gulf which, according to the apartheid theory, separates the whites from the non-whites, every race is isolated from the other because of its permanent hereditary characteristics. The race can only remain "itself" if it remains loyal to its tradition. Therefore, claim the apartheid theoriticians, the greatest service the Europeans can render to the Africans in South Africa consists in keeping them separated from the whites, to organize them in separate social, economic and political groups and see to it that they settle down in their own territories and local zones.

Although the main task of apartheid consists in maintaining the dominating position of the white race in South Africa, the ideologists of the Nationalist Party claim that the realization of this doctrine means neither oppression nor exploitation of the non-white population by the Europeans and imperialist capital. According to them apartheid is a constructive policy based on European charity and concern for cooperation of the races (!).

In spite of the consistent struggle of the South African peoples' liberation movement, in spite of the determined condemnation of the apartheid policy by world public opinion, in spite of the many resolutions adopted by the Organisation for African Unity and the UNO, the rulers of South Africa have not in the least changed the principles of their race policy.

The South African rulers maintain that the white population of that country is different in character from the society of European colonialists in other parts of the African continent. They reject the concept of the family of races because of the supposed impossibility of coexistence between Africans and Europeans. According to them the white population in South Africa cannot exist without maintaining their power, because all concessions towards a common development of the races through political liberalism would only end with the miscarriage of the uncompromising struggle. In view of the fact that the Europeans are determined to maintain their race and the Africans will not be satisfied with a concession of limited voting rights, say the whites, the only solution of the problem is the separate development of the race groups.

The theoreticians of apartheid further claim that only segregation can guarantee equal political rights: The Africans can realize their slogan "One man–one vote" in their own districts, while the whites control the main parts of the country. Thus, they maintain, the main South African groups enjoy the right of self-determination.

One of the chief theses to prove the necessity of separate development of the South African race groups is based on the claim that the Europeans came to South Africa before the Bantu, and that there is a traditional territorial separation between the white and black districts.

This claim that the Europeans settled in this part of the continent before the Bantu came (valid, incidentally, only for a small portion of the territory near the Cape of Good Hope), has been examined by many scientists. The thesis of the supposed traditional separation of white and African territories deserves, however, a special survey. The territorial separation of Europeans and Africans referred to by the apartheid theoreticians is the

consequence of the limitations of land imposed on the African population by the white government, against which the African politicians have always strongly protested. The theory and practice of apartheid gives expression to the race segregation imposed on the population since the European colonisation of South Africa and which, particularly after 1948, in view of the increasing victories of national liberation movements on the African continent, has been raised to the category of a state system as the only means of maintaining the colonial power of the white minority.

The national liberation movement in Africa has freed the great majority of the colonial countries. However, the former metropolitan countries were able, in general, to maintain their leading economic positions. They took advantage of two of their mainstays which still existed in the colonies in their classical form: 1) the state administration and 2) the privatelyowned capitalist sector. Under pressure of the national liberation movement the colonialists had to give up their first mainstay in order to keep the second. In South Africa the problem is not solved in this way.

South Africa is not a colony of the classical type. While practically renouncing independence and depriving the mass of the population of their elementary political rights, it still is an independent state. When Great Britain in 1910 recognized its independence, this was not equivalent to a victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism. Political power did not pass into the hands of the mass of African people but into those of a white minority. For the non-European majority, colonialism remained and was consolidated. This, as Academy Member Solodownikow stated in his speech, gave rise to a new type of colonialism in which the white oppressors are settled in the same territory as the oppressed non-white population. In South Africa the struggle of the non-white population for independence is not opposed by a group of colonial officers or by a limited section of white colonial landlords, but by practically the whole white population. The apartheid doctrine is designed to guarantee the supremacy of the white minority.

Many dozens of apartheid laws, which deprived the non-white population of rights they still enjoyed in South Africa, are closely linked to the policy of "separate development" according to which the "reserves" are the "home" of the Africans.

In the light of South African reality this formula is equivalent to a general attack on the rights of the great majority of the population. It means that the Africans in exchange for "self-administration" in the reserves, which comprise less than 13 % of the area of South Africa, have lost their former rights in 87 % of the territory. It means furthermore that the Africans are foreigners in the greater part of their country. In fact, the S.A. government leaders compare the future status of the Africans in the so-called white areas with that of the migratory workers from Lesotho.

The plan for the establishment of the Bantustans is primarily aimed at the re-establishment and consolidation of traditional tribal bonds. The Bantustans serve the struggle against the aim of the Africans to win freedom and political independence, as outlined for instance in the programme of the African National Congress. Economically these "national units" into which the scattered reserves are gathered, cannot exist independently. Consequently the economy of the Bantustans must unavoidably depend on the export of labour into the white areas.

We can arrive at the conclusion that the programme for the establishment of the Bantustans is a measure to strengthen the ruling white minority in South Africa. The real sense of this programme as of the whole apartheid policy is the maintenance of the specific form of colonialism in South Africa.

At the same time the Vorster government concentrates its efforts on the strengthening of military power and the development of an armament industry. This, as was stressed in all speeches, is done with the open support of the imperialist states, mainly the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany. In this respect the diplomatic relations between South Africa and Israel are of great political importance. South Africa officially supports the aggressive circles in Israel while these of late have increasingly supported the racist apartheid programme.

The independence granted Botswana and Lesotho in 1966 has only insignificantly changed the relation of forces in the Southern African tripartite alliance in favour of the opponent of colonialism. These new states maintain o customs union with South Africa, which controls their economy. At the same time the Vorster government evidently is making every effort to subordinate these countries by indirect methods of colonialism.

Special attention is paid to methods of economic pressure and intrigue, in order to break Botswana, Lesotho an Malawi out of the solid front of independent Africa against apartheid. In Botswana, South Africa maintains a fifth column: the white minority which in the interest of Pretoria supports the most conservative African parties against the progressive forces of the national liberation movement. In Lesotho the ruling party, which favours close relations with the Vorster regime, receives political and financial "aid" from South Africa. In this way South Africa, whose plans of conquering the former British protectorates have completely failed, is trying to reduce them to puppet states, isolated from the rest of the world and unable to put into practice their own national interests.

At present the "white empire" of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal stands at its peak. The question arises: Can the domination of the forces of colonialism and imperialism over the African majority be of long duration in the world of today, where the future belongs to the anti-imperialist and socialist forces? Only the imperialists and colonialists answer this question in the affirmative. The masses of the African people, who consistently fight for their independence, will never agree to a perpetuation of "white imperialism" in Southern Africa. Independent Africa, whose foreign policy consolidates the common struggle for complete liquidation of all remnants of colonialism on the continent, will never agree to it. In this struggle the african peoples and states will always have the total support of the socialist world and all anti-imperialist, democratic forces.

H. LOTH (G.D.R.)

The Nature of the "Northern Policy" of the Republic of South Africa

Though the majority of the African States, now as in former times, refuse to collaborate with the Fascist regime in the South, one must not underestimate the danger of the policy of expansion behind the mask of o "new course". The propaganda campaign of the Fascist regime in connection with the so-called "new course", proclaimed in 1966, is supported without reserve by the press media in the USA and in West Germany. We, however, are not astonished, because the "new" course of foreign policy in South Africa corresponds to the pretended "new" foreign policy of the Bonn State. The editors of the West German monopolies' paper "Der Spiegel" (1. 5. 1967) go even so far as to grant the Fascist Republic of South Africa an African policy which is pretended to contradict the internal policy. There one can read that the "new course" in foreign policy will be in strict contrast to the home policy. "Forced by fanatic racists in his own camp, Vorster had to carry on a two-track policy: in his crusading foreign policy he appeared moderate and polite, but at the same time he intensified his already radical course in home policy, of which he made fun by saying to visitors: "Welcome to the happiest police state in the world." But, as small as the differences are between the reactionary home policy of Bonn and its foreign policy – so small are these differences in South Africa. We want to prove this by examining the so-called "Northern Policy" of the Republic of South Africa. Both before and after the proclamation of the "new course" in foreign policy, the so-called policy towards the North of the Republic of South Africa contained and contains the objective facts of direct or indirect intervention in the internal affairs of African states, right up to its most aggravated form, armed interventions. Just as the international illegality of the home policy follows unequivocally from the maintenance of colonial privileges against the majority of the population, so the international illegality of the "Northern Policy" follows equally unequivocally from its character of intervention.

Allow me to mention in this connection the role of the Republic of South Africa on the occasion of the events in the Republic of the Congo.

For the first time in 1960, the government of South Africa became guilty of intervention. Fighting on the side of Moise Tshombe of Katanga (the industrial heart of the Congo, then separated from the Republic of the Congo), were white South Africans who had been enlisted, with the knowledge and consent of the racist government, by recruiting offices in South Africa and infiltrated into Katanga. How should this affair be estimated from the point of view of international law? The mere toleration of counter-revolutionary groups on foreign territory, and still more their support in various ways, is equal to violent intervention, or one accompanied by menace and violence, which amounts to a fulfilment of the facts of violent intervention.

When in July 1964, on the initiative of Washington and Brussels, the separatist Tshombe as a "strong-man" took over the Republic of Congo, Pretoria saw again a chance to usurp decisive power in the Congo. The regime of Tshombe met with the bitter resistance of the Congolese population, and could hold its own only with the help and support of the imperialist powers. In this situation the Fascist Republic of South Africa declared in public that it "was interested in the development of a stable government in the Congo". At first secretly and later openly, behind the mask of "humanitarian considerations" and with the support of the South African government, more than 10,000 white mercenaries were recruited in South Africa. South African mercenary troops carried out together with Belgian paratroops the ill-famed "pacifying" operation against Kisangani, in which thousands of Congolese people lost their lives. This fact too is unequivocal: The fact that the intervention of the government of the Republic of South Africa took place at the request of Tshombe does not change the factual findings of a violent intervention. The government of Tshombe could not appeal to the right of decision over the people, and under these conditions alone the unilateral efforts and intentions of the intervening foreign power are answerable to a judgement by international law. The praxis too finally showed that the "request" of the puppet government was used to make, by support of a reactionary minority, a direct influence on the formation of political, economic and cultural conditions in the Congo.

And finally we still have to mention the attempt at intervention by the Republic of South Africa in the Congo, which took place at a time when Pretoria had proclaimed its "new course" in foreign policy. The present head of government in the Congo, General Joseph Mobutu, did not fulfil the expectations of Pretoria. Quite the contrary. In declarations, he condemned the racist regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and in South Africa, and he condemned the Portuguese colonial regime. That is why with the consent of the Fascist government of South Africa, mercenaries were again recruited for action in the Congo. In 1966 and 1967 the Congo was again the object of attempts at imperialist intervention, and again mercenaries from South Africa fought on the side of the rioters.

But not only in the Congo did Fascist South Africa apply the most direct form of intervention. Among the armed attempts of intervention of Pretoria fall also the repeated instances of aggression against Zambia, the training of South Sudanese rioters for the fight against the Sudanese central government, and also the action of South African mercenary troops in South Vietnam.

Since the proclamation of a "new course" in foreign policy towards African states, South Africa practices above all an indirect form of intervention: intervention in the economic, political and ideological circumstances of the African peoples, the establishment of military bases etc. Even if, in the hitherto conception of bourgeois theorists, the principle of the prohibition of intervention in the internal affairs of other states has in no way been applied in an open violent manner on peoples living in a colonial state (an inadmissible negation of the realities), one would suggest that the conception of intervention comprises also various other forms–political, economic and military. By the way, in the actual situation, an unequivocal definition of the principle of prohibition of intervention, taking into consideration all forms of intervention, would be of extraordinary importance for the struggle of the African states against imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The creation of the so-called "white bloc" in the south of Africa is based on the principle of direct intervention.

The object of the "white bloc", in which the Fascist Republic of South Africa plays a leading part, was circumnavigated by the Düsseldorfer Industriekurier (5. 8. 1967) as follows: "United ... Portugal and South Africa will dedicate themselves to cementing their relations with Malawi, Lesotho, and Botswana ... The end-result of this diplomacy ... should be a solid South African bloc which cannot be disturbed in the least way either by the protests of Black African states like Zambia, nor by the repeated admonitions and decisions to decolonize by the United Nations."

The facts of intervention will be fulfilled by this formation of blocs in two ways:–

1. The right of self-determination of nations is negated in all affiliated countries. The right of the peoples to self-determination (which includes, independent of the stage of their social development, all peoples), is realized neither in the Portuguese colonies nor in South West Africa, nor under the rule of the minority government in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), nor in the Republic of South Africa.

The Fascist Sout African government, in its conception of global "defence", claims the whole southern part of Africa as its "sphere of interest"; a concept which has already been known as the "Monroe Doctrine" of South Africa. This doctrine even leads to attempts to justify armed intervention by the South African government, which, by-passing the classical concept of intervention, tries to make out that such intervention is not in "foreign" but in "home" affairs. The right of the peoples to national development, whose essential aspect is the right to political independence and the formation of independent national states, is suppressed in the affiliated states of the "white bloc" with the aid of South African arms and soldiers. But the military bases on the territory of the members of the "white bloc" do not only serve for suppression of majorities of the population but also menace the neighbouring countries.

In this connection, the military aid for the reactionary Smith regime in Zimbabwe must be mentioned too. In opposition to the decisions of the UNO, Pretoria supported at first secretly and then openly the minority regime with arms, military advisers and troops. "Police with aeroplanes and armoured vehicles were placed at the disposal of Salisbury ... For the first time a pure white defence front has been drawn in Southern Africa at the border to Zambia," announced in triumph the Frankfurter Allgemeine (24. 10. 1967) edited in West Germany. The excuse, to protect the Smith regime against the majority of the population, is more than manifest. Justified actions against the Smith regime (which derives its "legitimacy" only from imperialist support), are completely in accordance with international law, even when carried out under the threat of violence.

2. The "white bloc" menaces steadily the unity and the stable development of an independent Africa. The unremitting pressure on the African states represents a permanent menace to peace. The "white bloc" too is based not only on intervention against the people in the affiliated countries, but mainly on the intention to intervene against the independent African states. The typical form of intervention–as has been variously stated since the proclamation of the "new course" in inner-African relations–is economic (but also military) support, tied up with political conditions.

These indirect plans of intervention met with only slight resistance in Lesotho and Botswana, because their economies depend upon South Africa and because they are, by the geographical situation, particularly exposed to the pressures of the "white bloc". Both states (Lesotho and Botswana) have further increased their dependence by open contact with the Republic of South Africa, and have objectively supported the policy of the racist regime in Pretoria. How far Lesotho's readiness for alliance goes can be gathered from the published appeal from Jonathan, the Prime Minister, for an "economic community" in Southern Africa, with participation of "black and white states".

For the adhesion of Malawi to the "white bloc" too, both economic and political reasons are responsible.

The expansion of the "white bloc" in the neighbouring regions behind the mask of a "new course" also led, without doubt, to the fact that the racists could increase pressure on the Organization for African Unity. In a number of problems of importance for Africa as a whole (e.g. the Zimbabwe question) the governments of Lesotho, Botswana, and Malawi took positions which isolated them from the rest of Africa. Behind the mask of the "new course", the racist regime in South Africa plans, as the Pretoria "Afrika Post", (No. 9/10, 1967) frankly admitted, "to make a breakthrough to countries like Zambia and Tanzania, as well as farther North in Africa ..." The examples I have cited prove the trends which are contrary to international law in the foreign policy of the Republic of South Africa. Openly disregarding the right of self-determination of nations, the South African regime – only poorly masked with the disguise of a "new course"–fulfils an important function in the range of imperialist global strategy. The foreign policy of the racist regime is not contrary to the reactionary home policy, but is in complete conformity with it.

The incorporation of the Republic of South Africa into imperialist global strategy, and its development into the most important and mighty neo-colonial force against the independent states of Africa, is promoted in various ways by the imperialist states.

The increased aggressiveness of the racist regime of South Africa makes the creation of an anti-imperialist united front an urgent task in Africa. Southern Africa needs more urgently than ever the backing of the already independent African states. More and more, the realization must spread that coordinated actions only can bring success in the South of Africa.

H. MARDEK (G.D.R.)

The Apartheid Regime in the Republic of South Africa Runs Counter to International Law

Colonialism and racism, threats to world peace and to international co-operation, have in the apartheid regime merged into an inseparable unit. Thus the apartheid regime constitutes an open violation of the fundamental principles of democratic international law, and can therefore, no longer remain merely an internal affair, be-

coming a problem of paramount importance from the point of view of international law.

It is impossible for the South African regime to refer to the principle of non-intervention as endorsed in article 2/7 of the UN Charter, i.e. non-intervention in an affair the nature of which is a matter for state competence. Apartheid is a major crime condemned by international law. As a specific form of colonialism it violates the people's right to self-determination as guaranteed in the UN Charter and other documents based on international law. Democratic international law leaves no room for colonialism in whatever form it might be practised. Colonialism is a permanent violation of the right to self-determination and of the peace principle, both of which are proclaimed principles of international law, which with regard to the colonially oppressed peoples were not only endorsed by Declaration 1514 (XV) of the UN General Assembly 'On granting independence to the colonial countries and peoples', but were considerably expanded. The general political and economic oppression and deprivation of the rights of over 13 million non -white people by a racist minority of 3 million is basically nothing but colonialism. The replacement of a foreign colonial power from without by an internal one may alter the form of colonial rule but does not, however, change its nature. The political autonomy of the South African Republic cannot conceal the fact that the vast majority of the population has been deprived of the right to self-determination, that is to say the right to "themselves determine all affairs, questions of social order, questions of a political order and of their political status in international relations, the question of economic development and their entire social and cultural life". The establishment of so-called Bantustans by no means proves a possible step-by-step implementation of the right to self-determination but on the contrary proves the most extreme disregard for that right. The concept of Bantustans is not based on the principle of the right to self-determination but on racialism. It denies the vast majority of the South African population the right to take part on an equal footing in the shaping of social conditions in the South African Republic. And only in this way can the meaning of the right to self-determination be understood. Over and above this it has to be pointed out that the Bantustans are by no means a target the non-white population in the South African Republic is striving for. Considering their political and economic characteristics, the Bantustans are rather a modified colonial creation.

In terms of valid international law, the peculiarity of the apartheid regime is that here colonialism and racialism are blended in such a way as to endanger most alarmingly international co-operation and world peace.

The racism inherent in the apartheid regime, as with the colonialism it is based upon, are crimes according to international law. Racism violates human rights as laid down in the UN Charter, in the Declaration of Human Rights, in the Statutes of the Nuremberg Tribunal, which were confirmed as binding, on the basis of international law, in a number of important resolutions and agreements of the UN.

The apartheid regime constitutes a flagrant violation of the most elementary basic rights and freedoms of the absolute majority of the South African population.

"The experience of the peoples gained in the struggle against the fascist aggressors during World War II, and their determination to do away with the practices of fascist aggressors once and for all, led to the development of legal international law controls as an inseparable component for the securing of peace... also for the securing of internal democracy." This is to say that the present valid international law does not approve of or tolerate all forms of the domestic life of states. The preamble to the UN Charter says that the peoples of the United Nations are determined to manifest their "belief in the basic rights of man". Dealing with the aims of the organization, Article 1 of the Charter stresses international co-operation "in demanding and consolidating respect for the human rights and for the basic rights of all, irrespective of race, sex, language or religion". In accordance with the aim to "establish conditions of stability and prosperity necessary for the relations between the nations, based on equality and the right to self-determination, the United Nations are to promote general respect for and adherence to the human rights and basic rights irrespective of race, sex, language or belief" (article 55, paragraph C). In fulfilment of Article 68 of the Charter, the General Declaration of Human Rights was adopted on 10 December 1948, and the 21st General Assembly passed the Convention on Human Rights. This Declaration and the Convention contain basic rights to freedom, such as the right to life and personal freedom, the ban against discrimination, the right to equality before the law, legal protection against arbitrary arrest, the right to participate in the government of the country and a number of other rights which are flagrantly and systematically violated by the apartheid regime. Such flagrant and systematic disregard for human rights is not exclusively a matter concerning the state in question. The danger of a threat to world peace is inherent in such disregard, thus becoming an international affair to be dealt with by international law.

This fundamental connection between the safeguarding of world peace, the liquidation of colonialism and the respect for human rights, underlies the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted by the 20th session of the U.N. General Assembly. This Convention not only declares racism to be a violation of international law, but in Article 3 lays special emphasis on the fact that the apartheid regime is inconsistent with international law. It is equally significant that any foreign political measures taken by third parties to bolster the apartheid regime are also declared to be in violation of international law.

It can thus be stated that the apartheid regime is directed against the right to self-determination of the South African people, against world peace and against international cooperation, whereby it is in flagrant contradiction with the democratic character of international law. It must also be underlined that the racist regime's aggressive policy at home is linked up with an aggressive foreign policy, which greatly increases its function as a state endangering world peace and international cooperation between the peoples. The annexation of South West Africa and the policy of intervention conducted against a number of independent African states, is the external aspect of the apartheid regime. It is directed against the right to self-determination not only of the South African population, but also of other African peoples and states.

On this unequivocal legal basis the United Nations Organization has been waging its struggle against the

apartheid regime. This struggle is not only a legitimate right of the United Nations, but also its foremost duty for the protection of democratic international law.

Since the first days of its existence the United Nations Organization has been openly confronted by the apartheid regime. This was shown at the first session of its General Assembly in the shape of resolution 44. There was no session that failed to express its attitude towards apartheid in one way or another. It must not be overlooked, however, that the activities of UNO, until the early fifties, were mainly limited to appeals in which the government of the Union of South Africa was asked to revise its policy in the light of the UN Charter. It was impossible during this period to have the apartheid regime publicly denounced or to bring about effective sanctions, because the majority of the member states of UNO were under the tutelage of the United States. A new stage of development was reached in the late fifties and early sixties when a consistent character in the resolutions passed by the United Nations became evident as a result of the changed international constellation of forces and of a further aggravation of the policy of apartheid pursued by South Africa. Beginning in 1959 the UN General Assembly has unequivocally condemned the apartheid policy of South Africa.

The resolution of November 6, 1962 is of special importance. It calls on all member states of UNO to close their ports to South African ships and to forbid their own ships from entering South African ports. On April 7, 1963 the UN Security Council appealed to the world to impose an arms embargo on the Republic of South Africa. This development reached its climax in resolution 2054 which was passed at the 20th session of the General Assembly. In this resolution, the Security Council draws attention "to the fact that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to world peace and to international security, that action under Chapter 7 of the Charter is required to solve the problem of apartheid, and that economic sanctions imposed by the whole world are the only way of bringing about a peaceful solution". This resolution is of special importance in international law because it characterizes the situation in South Africa clearly as a threat to peace. Such a statement is the basic condition for sanctions under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

However important this resolution may be, the fact cannot be ignored that the UN decisions about economic sanctions and an arms embargo are constantly being disregarded by the main imperialist powers. This is a fact which was emphatically stressed by the majority of the participants in the UN-sponsored session on apartheid policy in 1966 and 1967. It is certainly not by chance that item 43 of the final document of the UN Apartheid Conference held in Brazil in 1966, lists West Germany at the top of the countries ignoring the UN resolutions on the diplomatic and economic boycott of South Africa.

The history of the United Nations has shown, however, that the imperialist states were unable to prevent the UN from unequivocally denouncing the apartheid regime and calling for sanctions, due to the firm attitude taken by the socialist countries and the majority of the Afro-Asian countries. Likewise they will be unable to prevent the development that, under pressure from the masses of the people, all countries will be forced to take effective measures for eliminating the apartheid regime.

J. O. MONTEIRO (FRELIMO MOZAMBIQUE)

Dear Comrades and Friends!

Permit us to convey to you the greetings and thanks of our organization and of the fighting people of Mozambique. We value highly the contribution this Conference makes to the analysis of the situation in Southern Africa, and we thank the Central Council for Asian, African and Latin American Sciences, as well as the Karl Marx University and all the speakers who took the floor before us, for the assistance we will gain from their investigations and analyses, in the accomplishment of our task, that is, the liberation of our country from foreign domination.

The fact that we have met here in order to investigate which common features–and there are many–exist between South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies, proves–if this is necessary–that liberation is not our concern alone, that the liberation of Southern Africa is not a task for each liberation movement in isolation.

In the course of this Conference we had the opportunity to hear reports on the general analysis of the political, economic, military and social situation in Southern Africa, which is characterized by regimes of racial discrimination and colonial rule imposed or led by settler minorities, and directed at the shameless economic exploitation of the natural resources and of African manpower. The co-operation among the white powers that gained a foothold in this region of Africa, and the very close relations between this white bloc and international imperialism, were also dealt with.

With these general characteristics we have briefly outlined the analysis of the situation existing in Southern Africa; and we shall not re-examine it systematically in the framework of this Conference. Our contribution refers mainly to some particular aspects of the central theme, dealt with from the Mozambican side, in the geographic as well as the economic, political and military sense.

We shall examine firstly the traditional economic connections between the colony of Mozambique and South Africa and Rhodesia which, in our opinion, determine largely the nature of the relations which exist at present in all spheres between the groups ruling in these countries. At the same time we shall deal with the development projects and the perspectives of this economic co-operation in Southern Africa.

We shall then outline the essential elements forming the basis which–as we could put it–made inevitable the political and military co-operation between these two countries. Finally we shall examine the present state of co-operation in view of the development of the national liberation movement.

In the third part we shall point out certain new facts or–to put it more correctly–the latest consequences of certain earlier factors, which impart a particular nature to the position of Southern Africa in the framework of imperialist strategy.

1. The situation in Southern Africa and above all in Mozambique can only be well understood if one takes into consideration the very close connections uniting South Africa, Rhodesia and Mozambique in the economic, political and cultural fields–"cultural" is used here in the broadest ideological sense. A glance at the map shows us that Rhodesia and the richest region of South

Africa, in this case the Transvaal province where the Rand mines are situated, do not have direct access to the sea. The economically most profitable route leads through Mozambique, more exactly via the ports of Lourenço Marques and Beira. This explains for the annexationist aspirations which Great Britain had at the end of the last century towards Lourenço Marques, called Delgoa Bay, and which brought about a dispute settled by the French Marshal MacMahon.

In time a *modus vivendi* was agreed upon between Mozambique and South Africa, taking into consideration other factors of mutual interest, which was embodied in a number of agreements, the most important of which was the so-called Transvaal Agreement of 11 September 1928, renewed in 1962. According to this agreement, the colonial administration of Mozambique engaged to send 100,000 Mozambican workers per year to the mines of South Africa–with the consent of the latter country this limit could be exceeded–in return for which South Africa engaged to ship 47.5 % of the export-import traffic of Transvaal, as well as a certain quantity of citrus fruit, through the port of Lourenço Marques. Similar arrangements were made with Rhodesia; we shall have the opportunity to examine several recent developments of this.

Because of the lack of development in the colonial economy of Mozambique, this situation created, in the long run, a strong dependency upon its neighbours South Africa and Rhodesia. In 1960 about 400,000 workers from Mozambique were in South Africa and Rhodesia under the bilateral agreements between Portugal and South Africa and Portugal and Rhodesia. According to these agreements, the wages of these workers are paid to the Portuguese government which pays the worker in Mozambican escudos at the expiration of the employment contract. This explains why "performance of labour in foreign countries" was valued as 1/5 of foreign currency revenue in the 1961 Mozambican budget.

A brief examination of the balance of payments of Mozambique in 1966 shows us on the other hand, that rail transport and harbour turnover–without mentioning the corresponding taxes–account for approximately 42 % of the total revenue.

This heavy dependence also explains the strong protests issued by Portugal against the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia which–due to the closure of the Beira-Umtali pipeline and the reduction of transshipment in the port of Beira–are said to have entailed losses of 15 million pound sterling up to August 1967 (about 19 million pound sterling to the end of the same year). Portugal claimed this loss as indemnification from the United Nations.

Mr. Nogueira, a Portuguese Minister and author of this claim, did not however reveal that according to the report of the OECD the trade between Portugal and Rhodesia was increased fourfold in the same period; it increased from 314,000 dollars in the first nine months of 1966 to 1.2 million dollars in the same period in 1967 for imports, and from 110,000 dollars to 493,000 dollars for exports. The refinery at Lourenço Marques processed in one year 12 times more petroleum than usual, which was clearly earmarked for Rhodesia as the Portuguese Minister admitted.

These last facts show that the economic dependency we are discussing is not a thing of the past. On the contrary, it aspires to a considerable strengthening in a perspective going beyond the framework of a temporary political alliance and belonging to the grandiose project of economic integration of Southern Africa.

The most important item of this integration plan is, in our opinion, the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam on the Zambezi in Mozambican territory in the Tete province. It seems that this dam is to be the decisive factor for the planned co-operation between Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal, and is supposed to supply South Africa, Mozambique, Rhodesia and Malawi with cheap power and thus accelerate economic integration. The planned production amounts to 17 milliard kWh (the production of the Aswan High Dam does not exceed 10 milliard). The first building section will cost £ 105 million, and three combines have already submitted final proposals:

1. ZAMCO (France–West Germany–South Africa)
2. Cabora Bassa Construction (Great Britain)
3. Cabora Bassa Builders (France–USA)

South Africa has already engaged to buy half the production of the high dam, to be supplied by a cable 1,400 km long. Although the completion of the first section of construction is announced for 1974, it es expected to start producing a certain amount of power in 1970.

The completed job, on the other hand, will make the Zambezi navigable over its total length on Mozambican territory, i.e. 830 km. It is planned to build a harbour at the mouth of the Zambezi on the Indian Ocean, able to berth ships up to 40,000 tons gross. The racists round Ian Smith plan to enlarge the Hunyani, a tributary of the Zambezi, to make it navigable, thus giving them a waterway to the sea.

The most serious political effects are, however, due to the plan to establish a settler colony. This plan became possible due to the exploitation of 2.5 million hectares of arable land, where it is planned to install one million white settler-farmers. Nobody doubts that this mass of established settlers will constitute an excellent bastion against the liberation of this southern region of Africa.

The idea of a Common Market of Southern Africa which does not only comprise the white powers but also the independent African states, developed in the framework of economic integration and was directed at the same political aim. This is the economic side of the rapacious nature of the white Unholy Alliance, which uses alternately threats and aggression and manoeuvers of economic enticement and infiltration aimed at creating or consolidating the political dependency of the independent African states in this region.

Considering these all-embracing plans and the acceleration of the process of integration, our answer lies in the development of our political and military action and its extension throughout our country. The armed liberation struggle which began in September 1964 has already proved itself successful: in the two northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado, large areas have been freed from colonial occupation and the people are once more exercising their rightful sovereignty.

Last March, a new front was established in the Tete province, where the Portuguese envisage the construction of the Cabora Bassa Dam; the victories already gained enable us to estimate the considerable difficulty, if not the impossibility, of the realization of the Portuguese plan.

2. It is now necessary to examine the establishment and development of the organization of military co-operation between Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia. The first testimony of this was given by a former Portuguese air force officer, Major Jose Ervedoza, before the UN Committee of 24 in July 1966. On his word we have evidence of contact between the general staffs of these three armed forces as early as February 1962. This co-operation is no longer being kept a secret.

From this we see on the one hand, the white minority in South Africa without the possibility of retreat and determined to maintain domination over the African population to the end; and on the other, we see Portugal facing similar problems in Angola and Mozambique, problems made more acute since the start of armed struggle in Angola in February 1961. Cut off from their old colonial power, England, France and Belgium find it safer and less costly to adopt neo-colonialism rather than direct domination – so Portugal turns to South Africa and Rhodesia to establish joint military plans of action.

The stubbornness of Portugal's attitude against the current of "de-colonization" can be explained by her economic structure, better referred to as the retarded character of her economy of colonial exploitation, which enforces the maintenance of a system of direct domination, the only justification being the absolute exploitation of the natural wealth and above all of the local labour force.

Far more than ideological factors, this *incapacity for neo-colonialism* is the basis of the Portuguese decision to oppose even 'formal' independence of the colonies.

On the other hand, the social structures of the countries of Southern Africa are roughly the same: they function in most cases, and despite quantitative differences, as colonies with white settlers, where the Europeans have total control over the political, cultural and economic life, despite the unequal numerical totals of white and black populations. Together with the economic and social links established at the beginning of the century between the colonialist minorities–and this is particularly true in the case of Mozambique–all this quite naturally led to the development of a mutual so-called "defence" pact. This involves first of all the exchange of information on the activities of the freedom-fighters, an agreement on extradition of African patriots, and the exchange of know-how regarding oppression of the African people. The advance of the peoples' political/military actions corresponds to the intensification of co-operation between the whites. South African helicopters based in the Caprivi Strip intervened against Angolan national liberation forces at the same time that white South African units fought against the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe.

Our intelligence services in Mozambique have informed us of the presence of South African troops stationed in Tete province on the banks of the Zambezi, principally at Chicoa, Mague, Zumbo (most companies) and Chioco (one battalion). More recently we have disclosed the presence of South African troops in Fingoe and Furancungo. We take this opportunity to point out the deeper implications of this: that the participation of South African troops in the field of action in the Portuguese colonies, robs Portugal of any autonomous decision-making ability in its colonial policy. Since Portugal leaves the "defence", indeed the fate of Angola and Mozambique in the hands of the Rhodesians and South Africans, she has opted willy-nilly for the road to the "defence" of the colonial territory well within the framework of a definite strategy which belongs essentially to South Africa.

3. Finally, if only briefly, we arrive at the situation of Southern Africa in the context of world imperialism. Traditionally a source of high profit, extremely rich in gold, diamonds and raw materials of all sorts, South Africa, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies have long been coveted by the big international capitalist forces. The discovery of militarily valuable mineral deposits (fissionable material) and of mineral oil have only served to accelerate this interest. The economic exploitation of these regions finds zealous supporters in the European colonists established there. A convergence not purely racial but fundamentally economic has established itself between the settlers and the capitalists. The foregoing information, supported by numerical data, conclusively demonstrates that this is a necessary development in the nature of imperialist capitalism. We wish only to dwell on the new strategic importance of South Africa and the Portuguese colonies within imperialist strategy since the revaluation of the Cape Route as an important or essential international route. Not only temporary factors such as the closing of the Suez Canal, but the technical exigencies of giant petrol tankers, and the "strategic security" of the Indian Ocean, have prevailed upon European politicians such as General Bethouat, David Rousset and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who have sounded the call to the western powers to protect this vital route, thereby involving stronger support for Portugal and South Africa. To underline the reinforcement of links between the white regimes in Southern Africa and the imperialist world powers, one is brought to mind of the worsening international situation, demonstrated by the escalation of reactionary violence in the face of the continued successes of the popular forces throughout the world.

Having reached the stage of direct intervention in Vietnam, world imperialism – headed by the USA with Great Britain, West Germany and France (whose roles in Southern Africa are very well known), Japan etc., following close behind – has arrived at a distribution of forces and of duties in the form of a world strategy aimed at suffocating popular aspirations in order to maintain domination and exploitation.

The task assigned to the white bloc in Southern Africa is to protect the reserves of raw material, to ensure the exploitation of the non-white working force, and to undertake from the south the re-colonization of the continent.

Faced with the choice between the exploited masses on the one side and the exploiting colonials on the other, the West, that is to say the capitalist countries, have sided with the latter; this could not have been otherwise. We have taken note of this, and we too have chosen. We choose to be on the side of progressive mankind, on the side of the millions of people fighting against oppression, misery and social decay, and who will build the new world and the new man. We are with the forces of progress and of social justice; we are with history.

P. MUESHIHANGE (SWAPO)

We meet here at a time when the forces of liberation are gaining momentum in the whole of Southern Africa. In this very moment, African freedom fighters in Namibia (South West Africa), Zimbabwe, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea are engaged in a life and death struggle to assert–for their people–their born right, the right to be free and independent.

That this Conference has been convened at this time in the history of Southern Africa, underscores the seriousness which the GDR attaches to the struggle for freedom and independence in Southern Africa. Friends and citizens of the GDR, you have invited us to come to your country. We shall ever be grateful to this invitation. But more than that, you have invited us to come to your country, and to discuss our problems. We of SWAPO are deeply touched by this gesture which demonstrates, more than anything else, your total commitment to our struggle for independence.

As the struggle for liberation gains momentum, the forces of imperialism are doing everything in their power to obstruct the activities of the African freedom fighters in Southern Africa. There are number of ways through which the imperialists attempt to obstruct the activities of the African freedom fighters. First, the imperialist powers headed by the U.S., West Germany, France and Great Britain provide military support to the racialist regimes in Southern Africa.

The United States and West Germany are secretly working together with the South African Council of Industrial Research–a body which is the South African equivalent of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission–in the production of nuclear weapons for the racist Republic. On the 14th of March–for instance–the South African Minister of Defence, Pieter Botha, disclosed that South Africa had succeeded in developing her own napalm bomb. There is no doubt that West Germany and the U.S. played a major role in this venture.

France–defying the United Nations resolution of 1965, which banned the shipment of war materials to South Africa–has gone on record as having provided South Africa with long ranged super-sonic jet-bombers. And these are the jet-bombers which South Africa uses against the freedom fighters in Southern Africa.

It was on the 26th of August 1966, when the people of Namibia (South West Africa), under the leadership of the South West Africa Poeples Organisation (SWAPO) resorted to arms to liberate themselves from the yoke of South African nazism. Thus, the launching of the armed struggle, by SWAPO, marked the beginning of an entirely new chapter in the history of Namibia.

Since that historic day, we have engaged the enemy in numerous major battles in which we have been able to score successful victories. The beginning of the armed struggle in Namibia (South West Africa), was the first of its kind where the South African racist regime felt, for the first time, the pinch of a bullet fired by the African freedom fighters. There will be many more bullets fired and we will not cease until our country is free.

The South African Government met our action with increased harshness and brutality. This we expected from the very beginning. The first step taken by the South African Government–following the launching of the armed struggle by SWAPO–was the extension of the notorious and repressive Suppression of Communism Act. This was just at the time when the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution ending South Africa's rule over Namibia (South West Africa).

The extension of the Suppression of Communism Act was then followed by the country wide arrest of SWAPO leaders and members in December of 1966. Many of these innocent men and women were then transported to Pretoria and detained as "terrorists". Then in early May of 1967, the South African Government announced that it would try 37 SWAPO freedom fighters for "terrorism" in Pretoria. It very swiftly rushed a new Bill–the Anti-Terrorism Act – through the all-White South African Parliament under which the 37 SWAPO freedom fighters eventually were tried. The Anti-Terrorism Act imposes death as the maximum and five years imprisonment as the minimum penalty for such offenses as "terrorism", "possession of fire arms" or "aiding actual or potentual terrorists".

As you are all aware, Comrades, the 37 SWAPO militants were formally committed for trial in August 1967 and the verdict was given in February of 1968. 19 freedom fighters were given life imprisonment; 9 to 20 years and two to 5 years imprisonment. One died in the course of the trial–a victim of brutal police torture. As we meet here today, these galant fighters of Namibian freedom are languishing in Vorster's goals not knowing whether they will ever come out alive again. But this is a part of the struggle. We knew from the very beginning that we could not expect mercy from our enemies.

The South African Government has already announced –at the beginning of this year–that more Namibian freedom fighters will once more be committed for trial in Pretoria on charges of "terrorism". We have expected all this to happen and we shall continue to fight in spite of all this.

The Labour Government of Harold Wilson is under terrible pressure to resume the shipments of arms to South Africa and from all practical purposes, it won't be long before Britain will resume shipments of arms to South Africa. Secondly, foreign investments – especially by the Western Powers in Southern Africa–greatly contribute to the continued existence or survival of the racialist regimes of Vorster, Smith and Salazar.

British investment in South Africa has reached beyond £ 1,000 million pounds while the U.S. has investments totalling over £ 600 million (dollars). In the field of finance, commerce and industry, the Western powers provide the back-bone to the strength of the South African economy with high profits which go to Paris, London, Bonn and Washington.

This clearly demonstrates, that the strength of the racialist regimes in Southern Africa are illusory; that is to say that if the Western imperialist powers stop their military, economic and political support to South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, these countries will easily collapse from the onslaught of the African freedom fighters. But therefore, the Western powers will never stop supporting these enemies of Southern African freedom. Their interest lies with Vorster, Salazar and Smith.

It is therefore imperative for the progressive forces of the world to forge a militant and uncompromising anti-imperialist, anti-neo colonialist alliance. And it is in this respect that the significance of this very conference comes in. We are gathered here not only to discuss the problems facing the fighters of Southern African freedom, but to

find ways and means through which we could–effectively–counter the machinations of imperialism, neo-nazism and neo-colonialism.

While we have the total support of our comrades in the GDR., we must also take note–very seriously–of the threat of neo-nazism in West Germany where Adolf von Thadden and his N.D.P. poses a danger to all the progressive forces in the world. This evil of neo-nazism must not be allowed to succeed. It is also this consideration which underscores the significance of this conference.

Finally may I emphasize here, that we of the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) together with all our freedom fighters will play our part in the liberation of Southern Africa. Comrades and friends, you have demonstrated your support and solidarity for our cause. You have given us moral and material support in the past, and you continue to do so. We could never repay you for this. But we say to you, that we will never stop fighting–not even for a minute–till the whole of Southern Africa is free. That much we owe you; that much we owe our people.

The day shall come when we will invite you to a free Southern Africa and when that day comes, as it is bound to come, then we shall smile and laugh; and we shall remember the Berlin Conference on Southern Africa. But before that day, we all must fight together. We must fight against racialism; we all must fight against imperialism; we all must fight against neo-nazism 'till the last drop of our blood.

H. MÜLLER (G.D.R.)

The Role of the Democratic United Front in the Struggle against Apartheid Policy in the Early Sixties

The different stages of the national liberation struggle in South Africa were closely linked with the working class, formed since the end of the 19th century. The stronger the working class became as a social force, the greater became its share in the ideological and organizational formation of the class struggle, taking place in the form of a struggle against the specific colonial policy of the ruling class.

This particular colonial policy keeps the overwhelming majority of the population in economic, political and social circumstances bearing the essential marks of colonial exploitation and suppression. The non-white population in its totality is subjected to this colonial system. Important points of contact and co-operation in the struggle against apartheid and for the attainment of democratic conditions in South Africa, resulted in the past and result today from this fact.

In the most recent history of the South African liberation struggle, much attention has been paid to the formation of a democratic united front of different organizations of the national movement for liberation. With the formation of a new ideological and organizational platform in the fifties, the prerequisites for fundamental success in the struggle against the ever-worsening social and national suppression of the great majority of the population were created.

The formation of a united front of all forces opposing the policy of suppression of the ruling class, was connected in South Africa with a number of particularities, the most important of which represented the union of different national groups of the population. The political and social basis for such a union of the democratic forces was created by the pitiless exploitation and the national suppression and humiliation of the great majority by foreign monopolies and by the white minority recruited from the ruling class. The policy of apartheid and the conscious demarcation of the national population groups one from another, did not prevent the representatives of all groups of the population, Africans, Indians, Coloured, and Whites, from uniting.

The process of the formation of a united front of many races culminated in 1955 in the Congress Alliance, whose kernel was the AEC and which united the most progressive organizations of all groups of the population. The Freedom Charter, elaborated by the Congress Alliance under wide participation of all working people, was both the expression of united actions and also the basis for the integration of further population groups leading to the union of all democratic forces. In the following years, the organizations of the Congress Alliance undertook a number of actions and campaigns against the increasing enslavement and for the achievement of measures to improve the conditions of life and work of the working class.

With the beginning of the sixties, in view of more and more powerful protests, the ruling class intensified its policy of aggression. The fact that under the changed political conditions new forms of the united front were created without dissolving the Congress Alliance, elements of whose working methods and form of adaption to the new conditions were used, is due to the dynamics of the united movement and the conviction that united action is the foundation-stone of genuine success.

Since 1960 the intensified internal reaction has forced leading representatives of the organization for liberation into exile. To mobilize international publicity for the struggle against racism, and in support of the revolutionary forces within South Africa, which were working under most difficult conditions, the United Front of South Africa was formed in London, whose main purpose was to isolate South Africa in the international arena. The most important result of the activity of the United Front was the forced withdrawal of South Africa from the Commonwealth in April 1961.

The striving towards a broad basis of action was in 1960/61, especially among Africans, the characteristic of political activity. The Congress Alliance alone as such was not enough to meet the demands of the changed situation, and was supplemented by the coming together of all African opposition forces. The preparation and accomplishment of the Pietermaritzburg Conference demonstrated the possibility of uniting representatives of all groups of the African population in the effort to oppose the destructive policy of the white nationalists with a democratic constructive policy, showing the way towards social progress. The invitation of the conference at Pietermaritzburg to convoke a democratic National Assembly with representatives of all national groups of the population, soon united (in greater dimensions than ever before) political tendencies, and became the reservoir of all opposition forces. In the middle of 1961, nevertheless, the extent of physical and political terror was

already too great to carry through in a legal way a democratization of the social conditions.

The part of the Communists and their relations with the organizations of the national liberation movement, represents a special proof of vitality and of the accomplishment of the idea of unity, in the national struggle for liberation. As a firm component of the national liberation movement, the SACP considers it as its immediate and principal task to establish a united front for national liberation with the progressive organizations and representatives of all groups of the South African population. Applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the realities of the South African situation, the SACP gains respect and acknowledgement as a trustworthy and devoted ally. This attitude is best expressed by the speech made by Nelson Mandela in the Rivonia Trial of 1964, when he stated that he fought vigorously for the necessity of the unity of Communists and non-Communists in the national struggle for liberation.

G. NYANDORO (ZAPU)

Comrade Chairman and Comrades,
The paper I will read is in two parts. The first part will deal briefly with the whole of Southern Africa and naturally you should expect me do deal in particular with Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe as we know it.

Southern Africa

The fundamental contradiction of our era is between the international systems of capitalism and socialism. The violent struggles to resolve this contradiction are being waged today primarily within the imperialist system, where liberation movements are fighting to achieve genuine political independence and the corollary to it, genuine rapid economic advance. That the struggle for national liberation and socialism are very closely related has been persuasively argued by Baron and Sweezy in "Monopoly Capital". The authors observe:

> "Policing the empire and fighting socialism are rapidly becoming, if they are not already, one and the same, for the threat to the empire comes from revolutionary movements which are sparked by a deep-seated yearning for national independence and are fuelled by an increasingly urgent need for economic development which experience is proving cannot be achieved today except on the basis of public enterprise and comprehensive planning: in short, only if their national revolutions are also socialist revolutions."

The fascists of South Africa, Portugal, and the fascist British settlers of Southern Rhodesia fall equally in the category of the contemporary capitalist empires. The whole fabric of these empires is based on a tenacious hold to military power which enables them to keep in check forces of resistance to their empires. Even in the case of former colonies, the problem does not rest on attainment of independence, unless such independence as aforesaid is genuine. It is in the fervent desire of the international capitalists and imperialists to preserve the basic relationship of Western dominance and African dependence by other means after the transfer of formal power.

This is not only in the attainment of political, economic power, but in the military, cultural, diplomatic, educational, and all other fields. The absurdity which this naked form of dominance reaches, is the complete control of the educational systems, which are manipulated to serve and perpetuate the empire and to deny, totally or partially, education which will enable student participation in all economic sectors. The system is regulated to yield either the barest minimum number of students, or nil, at the apex. Hence, fields of sciences leading to mining, engineering of all kinds, banking and insurance, architecture, chemistry, and managerial fields were, and continue to be, preserved for the ruling fascist, racialist minorities.

In all, all education is geared to preserving economic control by the ruling white racists and places the indigenous black peoples to doing those fields which do not challenge the white worker to competition with the black worker. The white worker, to all intents and purposes, is a bourgeois pseudo-capitalist, who prides in his pigmentation. His thinking is basically racist and he demonstrates this in casting a vote for the continuation of minority racist rule, in the case of countries where elections are held, whose electorate is wholly white, i.e. South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In the case of Southern Rhodesia, a minute number of Africans are on the voters' roll.

It can be seen, therefore, as a consequence of race, that the white worker is as reactionary as the capitalist boss.

In the examination of the regional economic effects of racism, it is necessary to state here briefly that since the aggression *against* the people of Southern Rhodesia by various imperialist powers, racialist policy is culminating in their intensification, as demonstrated by the apartheid laws of Southern Africa. The total exclusion of Africans from economic power, either through the creation of the African bourgeoisie class, has continued. All Africans, whether capitalist inclined, have never had the opportunity to engage actively in the economic sector in the whole region. Giant monopol enterprises are controlled by foreign big powers: Britain, France, Portugal, the United States of America, and West Germany. Here, it is pertinent to quote Nkrumah, when he pointed out in 1965

> that "the Balkanization of Africa has created a superstructure that makes it impossible for individual nations to cope with the bargaining power of the international corporations, which by means of interlocking directorships, cross share-holding and other devices, effectively act on a pan-African scale".

To prove this one need not go far, but illustrate briefly: The case of Union Minière which operates in the Congo, whose share-holding includes Tanganyika Concessions, a British international corporation, and American Metal Climax, an American international corporation, with interests in many parts of the world; the giant Imperial Chemical Industries, whose multifarious activities are in many countries and virtually wield economic power in these areas; the Anglo-American empire of Harry Oppenheimer, of South Africa, is one of the largest *single* South African business groups with central interests in mining, but broad ramifications in other sectors of industry operating in South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Zambia, the Congo, Angola, Tanzania, and recently acquired interests in Mauretania's iron-ore mining group. The attitude of the foreign capitalist investing in South Africa has been: expanding its operations in South and

South West Africa under the profitable conditions of apartheid.

One here needs to quote an American industrialist, who once said:

"We know the people and government, and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars."

He added that American firms could make an average profit of 27 per cent on investments in South Africa, even double the profit from comparable investments in the United States. Here, when he makes reference to their knowledge of the people, he means white people. This illustrates the point of inherent racism which he overtly identified with economic association with South Africa. The fourteen million Africans do not exist, in fact and in economic terms.

The high profits accruing for foreign investors in the whole of Southern Africa, particularly in mining, are derived from the low wages paid to millions of African labourers. Foreign-owned firms, particularly British and American, dominate the economy of British white-settler controlled Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa. West Germany and France are presently increasing their participation by establishing armament factories, including the construction of a nuclear reactor by West Germany.

It has been proved that there are more than four hundred British registered firms with more than one thousand subsidiaries in South Africa. British investments in South Africa are estimated at over £ 3 billion, and accrue to Britain in the form of dividends, interest etc., of more than a £ 115 million per annum. The United States' investments in South Africa are estimated at over £ 1 billion. There have been increased investments by Japan, West Germany, and France recently.

In the case of Southern Rhodesia, more than 98 per cent of the economy is controlled by the British monopolists and settler capitalists. The interlocking of share-holding by giant monopolies is still predominant in the whole economy. It may be noted that, while corporations have shipped a smaller share of the foreign exchange earnings from Rhodesia in the form of profit and interest, payments abroad have been much heavier than those from Zambia. After Federation, official statistics indicated that profits and interest transferred abroad continued to claim at least 20–25 per cent of Federal earnings from exports. Freight and insurance payments to the head offices of the foreign firms handling Central African shipping, ranged from 12 to 18 per cent of f.o.d. value of merchandise imports in post-war years. I would like to quote here from "Poverty and Unity": "In many years, too, especially when money incomes were rising, domestic savings flowed out of both Rhodesias through the combined operations of foreign-owned commercial banks, the colonial monetary authorities and the government, all of which tended to accumulate reserves abroad. These funds, as well, could better have been devoted to economic development at home."

In the case of Angola and Mozambique the Companhia de Diamants de Angola, a monopolist empire and largest employer of African labour in Angola, is controlled by British and Belgian capital. Petrol Fina is engaged in the exploitation of the Angola oil. Mozambique Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of the United States Gulf Oil Company, together with the Mozambique Pan-African Oil Company, is prospecting oil in Mozambique. Now this is a subsidiary of the American International Oil Company. The Benguela railway, running one thousend miles from Lobito in Angola to the Congo frontier, was built in the early part of this century with very substantial sums of British capital, mainly from Tanganyika Concessions, to ship Katanga ores out through the Lobito. In addition, the Beira-Umtali railway line, carries large tonnages of Rhodesian ore and tobacco for shipment overseas from the Portuguese Indian Ocean port of Beira.

A West German consortium, headed by Krupp, joined the Portuguese in building a three-hundred-mile railroad from Kasinga to Lobito to ship out 2 1/2 million tons of iron ore annually, to aid raw steel industry supplies. Britain, USA, Japan, West Germany, are increasingly getting interest in Angola and Mozambique. Portugal is heavily and increasingly dependent on colonial exports to end Western European and United States currency from metropolitan Portuguese imports as well as to provide a subsidiary market for its own weak industrial sector. The entire economic structure of Salazar's regime is now dependent on Angola and Mozambique export earnings for the continuation of national development. It will be observed, therefore, that in all the territories of Southern Africa, economic control and political power are the main weapons which the racist fascist minority oligarchies, in collaboration with international imperialism, utilized to perpetuate domination and exploitation of the vast African majorities of these areas.

The foregoing analysis, Comrade Chair, of economic effects of racism is necessary when examined from a premise of the motivating factors for liberation and independence in this region. This challenge poses a threat to all the capitalist forces operating in these areas and in some cases poses a threat of economic collapse if suddenly there is a change to indigenous economic control based on socialist principles. For example, if there is a sudden stoppage of copper flow from Zambia, I repeat, if there is a sudden stoppage of copper flow from Zambia to Britain this would throw out of employment 2 million Britons. The consequences of this would be to precipitate an economic crisis which in the end would result in the collapse of the British economy. The same would apply, were Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissao to be free; the same principle would apply.

We are forced to examine briefly, therefore, the alliance of these capitalists in Southern Africa, particularly in Zimbabwe. A comparison of *Southern Rhodesia's* income and economic structure shows a degree of overall development higher than that of any other country in tropical Africa. In 1963, per capita income in Southern Rhodesia was £ 71 as against £ 37 for the whole of Africa, excluding South Africa. Agriculture accounted for 39 per cent of gross domestic product of the continent, excluding South Africa, but only 22 per cent of the Southern Rhodesia g.d.p. Industry on the other hand accounted for 10.6 per cent and 25.2 per cent respectively. This great economic maturity has been brought about by the development of a Rhodesia-based capitalist class, which, for over seventy years, has ruthlessly exploited the African people who represent the majority of the population–94 per cent. Development within the framework of racial discrimination and capitalist exploitation has, however, reached its limits. In 1963, the per capita real income was 6 per cent lower than it was in 1957, and in the same period the proportion of African population in wage employment has declined from 20 per cent to less than 16 per cent. Job opportunities for Africans in the industrial sector of the economy are limited. The number of

unemployed African workers has continuously increased. In 1960, when the African population was estimated to be 3.4 million, there were 640,000 Africans in employment. By 1966, however, when the African population had risen to an estimated 4.21 million, there were only 615,000 Africans in employment. Now, this shows a drop of 8.7 per cent.

Stagnation and social injustice in Southern Rhodesia go hand in hand. To understand this one must analyse both the existing degree of inequality between the living conditions of the two races, and the historic process that had produced those inequalities.

In the year 1965–66, the average wage of an African worker was £ 132 per annum; while that of the European worker averaged £ 1,331 per annum–a disparity of £ 1,199. Racial discrimination in income determination is, however, better illustrated by income differentials within classes. A huge gap exists between the average earnings of African and European employees as has been shown above. In 1964, 86,000 European workers received £ 107,800,000 in wages and salaries, whereas 622,000 African workers received only £ 72,530,000. Thus, while the European workers with average annual earnings of £ 1,331, were one of the best paid working classes in the world, the African workers with average earnings of £ 132 per annum were one of the worst paid. Greater discrepancies are to be found in the incomes from agriculture. In 1963, European farmers, numbering less than 8,000, received net incomes of £ 14.6 million, while the income of the whole African peasantry amounted to £ 21.3 million, of which only 3.4 million were derived from sales of produce.

It has been estimated that the net income of European farmers here has more than doubled in the ten years between 1954 and 1964–from £ 6.9 million to £ 14.8 million. The gross income of African peasant farmers actually declined from £ 29.6 million to £ 28.5 million in 1965. Racial discrimination and economic exploitation are responsible for these vast differences in the income of the two racial groups. The European farmer receives more than preferential treatment from the minority government, while the African farmer is virtually neglected, as can be seen from the following extract from "Rhodesia Perspectives":

"Economic farmers have been able to switch to more capital-intense and more profiteable methods of production because of the availability of cheap and easy credit. At the end of September 1965 European farmers were owing £ 8.6 million to the Land Bank and £ 11.6 million to the five commercial banks, according to the quarterly bulletin of 'Financial Statistics', October 1965. In addition, farmers buy the greater part of their requirements of fertilizers, pesticides, and other farming requisites on credit accounts which are cleared against stop orders when they sell their products at the end of the season and often finance much of their personal consumption in the same way.

At the height of the season, from March to April, before sales proceeds begin to come in, trade credit extended to farmers is probably not short of £ 10 million. Thus, there may at times be upwards of £ 25 million credit in one form or another in the hands of the 7,000 European farmers.

By contrast £ 230,076 was available from government sources in 1965 for approximately 480,000 tribal trustland African farmers who cannot get ordinary commercial credit; because having no title to their land they cannot provide satisfactory security."

This racial pattern in income distribution is perpetuated by kinds of discriminatory practice in the labour and produce markets and in the education, which, in the long run, determines the ability of Africans to compete with Europeans on equal terms. Quite apart from the abysmal discrepancies in the quality of the education imparted to the two racial groups, quantitative data of enrolment of African and European pupils are sufficient to show the role played by racial discrimination in this sphere. In 1964, 19,488 European pupils as against 8,846 African pupils were enrolled in secondary schools, yet there are a little more than 200,000 Europeans, as against more than 4 million Africans. Education is compulsory for European children, but not for Africans. And besides this fact, the government spends more on the education of a white child than on that of an African child, as can be seen from the table hereunder.

In the year 1964/65, a white student would receive £ 98 13/– for his education, in contrast to an African child, £ 9 4/–. In 1965/1966 a white child received £ 103, and African child 9 guineas. Between these two years, there was an increase on the European child of £ 4 7/–, and on the African child–5/–. In the year 1965/66, the illegal regime spent £ 6,528,630 on the education of 643,592 African pupils, whereas expenditure by the regime on non-African education amounted–that is the European–amounted to £ 6,120,500 for a mere 59,498 non-African pupils enrolled in 1965.

As a result of UDI, the so-called UDI, three hundred African teachers were dismissed from their posts. And in 1966, 2,500 African teaching posts were abolished. At the beginning of the 1968 academic year, the regime sent away 50 African students, who had been offered places at the University College of Rhodesia in Salisbury.

Thus it can be seen that the position of the African has worsened since Ian Smith declared his independence unilaterally, but no reliable data is available.

The pattern of racial injustice has deep roots in the history of Southern Rhodesia. The history of Southern Rhodesia's political, economic development up to World War II is marked by continuous efforts of white settlers, farmers and miners, and foreign capital and many large mining companies, to separate the African peasantry from the means of producing its subsistence, in order to induce them to supply cheap labour to miners and farmers. As a matter of fact, in the early days of settlement, cheap African labour was hard to obtain. The availability of large surpluses of land an other natural resources enabled the African population to produce its means of subsistence, while the sale of livestock and produce to the mines and towns enabled them to obtain the cash needed to pay for taxes and to purchase the commodities acquired by the Europeans. Under these circumstances, the white settlers could not establish themselves as a capitalist class. Competition in the produce market was met by an acute shortage of cheap labour. It was only through various forms of compulsion that the independence of the African peasantry as producers was steadily disrupted, their competition in the produce market eliminated and, in consequence, the rapid increase in the supply of cheap labour obtained. The best land was taken away from the Africans, who were either settled far away from the markets or were reduced to the status of tenants, subject to heavy payments in cash and or labour services.

Discrimination in prices between African and European produce was introduced at various times. Government assistance was concentrated on the white farmers etc. The impoverishment of the peasantry as independent producers, and the low wages obtained by the African workers, thus resulted from the same process–the capitalist development.

Unlike the Africans, the white working class in Rhodesia did not arise from any impoverished class of independent producers. White workers to perform skilled and semi-skilled jobs had to be attracted by the offer of wages higher than in Britain and South Africa. With their skills they brought trade union organizing ability, which they used both against the employers to improve their living conditions, and against their fellow African workers, in order to prevent them from acquiring skills which would have put them in a position to compete with Europeans on the labour market. This attitude has been particularly in evidence in the political sphere, where white workers have consistently tended to form a united front with the more reactionary section of Rhodesian capitalism in opposition to the aspirations for social and economic advancement of the African majority; a tendency which culminated in the advent of the Rhodesian Front in 1962 and UDI in 1965.

A racial factor has therefore also played a part in shaping the present pattern of social injustice described earlier on. The present position of the African in Rhodesia is, thus a joint product of capitalist exploitation and of the racialist behaviour of the white working class.

After World War II, a new factor has played an important role in determining Rhodesian social reality. With the greater involvement of large-scale international corporations in the Rhodesian economy, especially in the manufacturing and textile industries, a need for a stable labour force came to be increasingly felt. Certain basic skills were required which it was impossible to impart under conditions of higher labour turnover. The system of labour migration which reduced Africans to low-productivity peasants and to low-productivity wage labourers, hampered the growth of the highly capital-intensive secondary industry. The attempts by large-scale concerns, mainly foreign-controlled, to stabilize the African labour force led to a rise in wages and salaries for a small section of African workers.

However, the same process of labour stabilization and greater capital intensity of production reduced wage employment opportunities for the majority of the population. In the years 1956 to 1961, though real African wages and salaries grew at an average rate of some 3.8 per cent, the number of Africans in wage employment increased at the rate of only 4 per cent, while the African labour force was growing at a rate of 2.2 per cent. In consequence, though the living standard of the small minority of African workers began to improve, admittedly at a rate which left the huge gap between white and black labour incomes unaffected, the population at large faced a gradual deepening of poverty in the rural areas without the possibility of earning a subsistence as wage workers in the urban areas where unemployment was, and is, on the increase.

Against this background, Comrade Chair, we can understand why the pattern of inequality discussed above is not only detestable on human grounds but also blocks further development and progress of the economy as a whole. In fact, the impoverishment of the African peasantry restrains the growth of the market for industrial products, encourages stagnation of industry and especially of African wage employment, restrains the growth of the market for the produce of the peasantry. The economic surplus which should be made available for productive investment both in rural areas (to raise productivity and incomes of the peasantry) and in urban areas (to train, and supply with the means of producing, a growing industrial labour force), is absorbed instead by the conspicuous consumption of the white settlers who spend a large proportion of their incomes on imports, and by the export of profits to South Africa and advanced capitalist countries. Progress and development is hampered in another way, namely by retarding the economic unification of Zimbabwe with independent Africa. The industrialization of Rhodesia owes a great deal to the market north of the Zambezi, and further progress can only take place in an integrated multi-national economic system. One can fully sympathize with the desires of independent African countries, not to be exploited by Rhodesia, by Rhodesian white settlers, like Zambia and Malawi have been during the past Federal period. Economic cooperation between Zimbabwe and other African states can benefit all, only if it is consciously planned to reduce inequalities among them, rather than be left to market forces which would inevitably widen the existing gap.

Under these conditions, Zimbabwe with its relatively developed industrial complex could be of considerable assistance in promoting the industrialization of Zambia, Malawi, and East Africa. This type of cooperation can hardly be conceived with the capitalist Rhodesia, let alone with a capitalist Rhodesia ruled by a greedy white settler minority.

From all points of view we are fast led to the conclusion that racial injustice and economic stagnation can only be ended through revolutionary action, and by removing the white settlers from the centre of power and establishing socialist relations of production within Zimbabwe and between Zimbabwe and the other African states.

In conclusion, therefore, Comrade Chair, the abovementioned economic analysis, which proves the involvement of Western monopoly capitalism in the maintenance of the fascist regimes in Southern Africa, prompts us to conclude that the whole NATO bloc as presently constituted is intrinsically fascist. The Western countries today are not in a condition to practise classical fascism along the lines of Hitler in their respective countries. The end of the World War II which gave rise to the emergence of the world socialist camp, coupled with the existence of bourgeois democracies, forced the Western countries to export fascism outside their domains to the "third world". All the reactionary and fascist regimes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America receive moral and material support from the NATO bloc. We, the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa, in solidarity with the other fighting movements of Africa, Asia and Latin America, have no alternative but to intensify our armed struggle–armed struggle based on the popular masses, aimed at destroying physically the imperialist power structure in Rodesia, in particular, and the whole of Southern Africa. Armed struggle is the policy to which ZAPU is fully committed. It is a policy to which the world anti-imperialist forces, headed by the socialist camp, must dutifully adhere, without vacillation whatsoever.

A. S. POKROVSKY (U.S.S.R.)

The Domination of Monopoly Capital in the Economy of the Countries of Southern Africa

The overwhelming majority of mines in the countries of Southern Africa is controlled by 10 to 15 monopoly groups, dominated by gold-mining monopolies of South Africa, whose geographic borders of activities are extending with every passing year. They have firmly established themselves in the mining and other industries of such countries as South West Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, the Portugese colonies and some other countries.

Almost all of the mining monopolies operating in South Africa were in the past registered in London, but in the last few dozens of years most of them transferred their head offices to South Africa and are now listed as South African. In the post-war period the proportion of local share-holders has grown significantly, and, according to numerous sources, they now hold dominating positions.

It should be pointed out that the local industrialists and financiers, who incidentally seek their own imperialist goals, closely cooperate with the Western monopolist circles, on whose financial aid and support they continue to depend heavily. The major imperialist powers have made huge investments in the economy of the countries of Southern Africa, and the sum of their investments tends to grow. According to the available reports, the total sum of foreign investments in South Africa alone was estimated in the end of 1965 at 4.8 billion dollars, of which Britain accounted for 2.8 million and the United States for 0.6 billion dollars.[1] West Germany, France, Switzerland, Japan and other countries also have large investments in South Africa.

The organisational structure of all the monopoly groups operating in this part of the world is noted for a system of mutual shareholding coupled with mixed directorship of companies. All this makes it possible to speak of the existence of a single financial oligarchy bound up by common interests, which economically after the war. Through the affiliated *Rand Selection* dominates a vast territory stretching from Capetown to Katanga. It will not be an exaggeration to say that this financial oligarchy largely determines the policy of governments and colonial administrations in this region.

Simultaneous directorship, technical supervision and the "partnership system" under multilateral subordination enable the parent company with the help of a relatively small amount of capital to control a huge number of other companies and thus to create real financial empires. This use by monopoly capital of a wide network of affiliated companies can be best illustrated by the activities of the largest mining concern of South Africa –*Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa*–a gigantic mining and financial empire of the Oppenheimer group.

Although American capital took an active part in establishing the AAC in 1917, at present its share is insignificant. The AAC maintains close financial ties with the Rothschilds of London, so the entire system of companies is usually considered as a part of the financial empire of the Rothschilds, which is often called the Rothschild-Oppenheimer group.

The AAC organisation structure reminds a giant pyramid topped by the private company of *E. Oppenheimer and Sons*, of the Oppenheimer, which does not make its accounts public and so the size of the personal wealth of the Oppenheimers, invested in this company, remains unknown. However, this capital is enough for them to have a decisive hold of shares, which gives them direct control of the activities of the *Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa*, holding the key position in the group.

The investments of this mining concern, estimated at 210 million pounds at a market price of shares in 1965, are made in over 200 companies.

To understand the gigantic scale of activities of this group, it should be pointed out that, among other things, it accounts for over one fourth of the total amount of gold mined, one fifth of diamonds, 10 % of copper, over one half of uranium produced in South Africa and about two thirds of Southern African coal. Through the diamond monopoly of *De Beers Consolidated Mines*, which is closely linked with it, the corporation dominates the world diamond market, having an opportunity to control about 80 % of sales of this precious product on the capitalist world market.

The AAC basic interests lie in gold mining, in which it has made 42 % of all its investments.[2] South Africa accounts for over 70 % of the total amount of gold mined in the capitalist countries. In 1966 the AAC held in the gold mining industry an absolutely unique and outstanding position, owning 13 gold mines, which accounted for one-third of the total amount of gold mined in South Africa. The ACC interests in gold mining are not limited, however, to controlling the above-mentioned gold mines. It would be fairly safe to say that the concern's investments are directly or indirectly made in, practically, every gold mining company, established they cover gold mining in the central and eastern regions of Witwatersrand, through *West Rand Investment Trust*–the gold mines in Clerkedorp and in western part of Witwatersrand through the *Orange Free State Investment Trust*–gold mining in the Orange Free State.

In this connection it should be pointed out that although gold mining is the basic sphere of activities of South African monopolies, it is not the only one. Thus, the AAC has penetrated various branches of the South African economy. Through a wide network of affiliated companies it has invested in the mining of diamonds, coal, cobalt, magnesites, titanium, vanadium, manganese, asbestos, platinum and so on. It also plays a significant part in land ownership, prospecting and surveying. It has recently begun investing in the processing industry, and the amount of these investments is rapidly growing. Thus, from 1956 to 1966 their value trebled and at present accounts for 15 % of all the investments of the group. Among the major South African projects financed by it in recent years is the *Highveld Steel and Vanadium*, a large industrial plant producing highcarbon steel.

The AAC interests go far beyond South Africa. Since the early 1920's it began to penetrate the mining industry of Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. It was here that the AAC securities are closely bound up with the securities of the Rothschilds in the companies engaged in mining in the worldfamous copper belt, stretching along the two

1 *Foreign Investments in the Republic of South Africa*, UN, NY, March 23, 1967, p. 2

2 *The Economist*, L., 1966, October 29, p. 484

sides of the border dividing Zambia and the Congolese province of Katanga.

The affiliated Rothschild company, *Rio Tinto*, operating there, almost in 100 years of its existence has turned from an originally small enterprise into a holding company, which is now a major firm through which this banking house invests its capital in the countries of Southern Africa. *Rio Tinto*, which has large investments in the mining industry of Canada and Australia, can be rightfully called a most important link, which brings together the South African interests of the British Rothschilds with the Oppenheimers' interests.[3] In Zambia the investments of these two houses are made in such companies directly engaged in copper mining as *Rokana, N'Changa* and *Bankroft*. These 3 companies, which account for 60 % of the total output of copper of the country, are directly controlled by the AAC affiliate *Zambian Anglo-American*.

The investments in the copper mining industry of Zambia are considered by monopolies as a major source of profit outside gold mining. To realize this, it is enough to see that at a time, when the investments in the copper mining account for 7 % of the total investments of the AAC group, they bring 17 % of the corporation's profits. The growth of copper prices at the world market in the past few years has made up for all the losses suffered by the corporation from an increase in rents it pays to Zambia. Here in Zambia the corporation owns the copper refinery and *Broken Hill* pit, which is an important lead, zink and cadmium producer. The shares of the Zambia copper pits belong, apart from the Rothschild-Oppenheimer group in one way or another to almost all the above listed South African mining and financial concerns. American capital also has a large hold of shares, having interests in *Zambian Anglo-American* and acting through *Rhodesian Selection Trust*, where American *Metal Climex* of the Morgan group has a decisive hold of shares.

The AAC holds important positions in coal mining. Apart from a dozen of collieries operating in the South African provinces of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal, it also owns Wanki Collieries operating in Rhodesia. The importance of this company, considered to be the world's largest coal producer, is that it holds an exclusive position of the only supplyer of the hard fuel for neighbouring Zambia. The factor of geographic location of this colliery in the Rhodesian territory enables its racist leaders and the AAC, when necessary, to bring pressure to bear on this newly-independent African state, since it is clear that the stopping of coal supplies would cause it enormous economic difficulties.

Wanky Collieries, whose shares are partly held by *Union Minière*, owns a small coke-producing plant, which supplies its products to the steel works in Kwe-Kwe. It also has some investments in a number of companies, as well as interests in Mozambique, where it owns two boxite mines near the Rhodesian border.

Among the numerous AAC affiliated companies *Swaziland Iron Ore Development* engaged in ore mining since 1961 in Swaziland should especially be mentioned. Powerful *Guest Keen and Nettlefolds* of Britain was among the founders of this company supplying iron ore to Japanese steel monopolies.

Together with other companies the AAC founded *Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co* (RISCO), which bought from the Southern Rhodesian administration securities of the Ferrous Metallurgy Commission, which owned pig iron and steel plants in Bulawaio and Kwe-Kwe. Earlier in 1951 the AAC took part in the construction of a plant producing low-carbon ferrochromite in Gwelo, which is a very important raw material for producing special alloyed steels. Thus, the corporation has established direct control over the production of ferrous metals in Rhodesia.

In the long history of the existence of the AAC its interests have interwoven with the interests of *British South Africa Co.* (BSAC), established by Cecil Rhodes at the end of the last century, which played a major role in engineering the conquest of the territories of Zambia and Rhodesia by British imperialism at the turn of the century. BSAC, which until 1923 administered Rhodesia, invested its capital in various branches of the economy of that country. Until 1933 the company enjoyed the monopoly right to explore natural resources of Rhodesia whereas in Zambia it has exercised similar rights until the country obtained independence. It also owns large territories in Malawi and Botswana. In the past it owned Rhodesian railways, but in 1947 they were bought by the government for a staggering price of some 30 million pounds. Even now the company has investments in such branches as forestry, farming, citrus fruit growing, flour -grinding and baking industries, ferrous metallurgy. It also acts as crediting agency and is the chief source of credits for small entrepreneurs.

In 1937 *British South Africa Co.* exchanged a large hold of shares into AAC shares and ever since then the two companies have maintained close cooperation. It is significant that they jointly participated in founding new companies, in financing various projects and so on. As a result, *British South Africa Co.* has become a co-owner of many AAC-affiliated companies. Thus, it holds shares of South African gold mining companies, copper pits, diamond companies and so on.

The close cooperation of AAC and BSAC resulted in the merger of these two companies, with the latter being fully overtaken by Oppenheimer. This was done in March 1965 by establishing a new large investment *Charter Consolidated*, as a result of the merger of BSAC, *Central Mining and Investment Corporation* and *Consolidated Mines Selection*. The latter was a long-time member of the AAC group, and since the corporation held a considerable amount of shares of each of the two other companies, it got the decisive hold of shares of the newly-created company, owning about 30 % of the issued capital. By taking over *Charter Consolidated*, the AAC has considerably expanded the sphere of operation. The securities of the new company, exceeding 80 million pounds have the following geographical distribution[4]:

Southern Africa	– 38 %
The rest of Africa	– 12.9 %
Northern America	– 23.9 %
Britain	– 18.2 %
The rest of the world	– 6.4 %

Central Mining and Investment Corporation, the major mining company operating in South Africa, was the chief competitor of the AAC in establishing control over gold mining in the country. Despite the fact that the number of gold mines directly controlled by *Central Mining* has now sharply dropped, it continues to hold shares of many

3 See *Masters of British Policy*, R. Ovinkov, M., 1967

4 *Investors Review*, L., 1965, June 25, p. 391

of the gold mining companies affiliated with other groups. Like other South African mining concerns *Central Mining* investments are made not only in gold mining. It also controls a few collieries and two chromium mining companies in South Africa. It has investments in a number of South African processing undertakings, including cement companies operating in South Africa and Rhodesia, enterprises producing steel and cement pipes, lime, timber and other products. This group has invested substantial capital in *Cape Asbestos* which is a major South African asbestos *producer.*

At all stages of its development *Anglo-American Corporation* has been closely connected with diamond mining companies affiliated with the world monopoly *De Beers Consolidated Mines. De Beers* is a sort of the second branch of the gigantic financial empire of the Oppenheimers. Both of these companies are closely connected with each other by mutual holding of shares and common interests in various spheres of activities. The decisive hold of shares of *De Beers* (20.2 % of all shares of *De Beers* giving the right to vote) belongs to AAC–affiliated *Anglo-American Investment Trust.* It is, after all, of no great importance to find out who has the decisive hold of shares, since both the AAC and *De Beers* and all other major companies operating in Southern Africa, and engaged in mining and marketing diamonds are controlled by the same Oppenheimers.

It would not be inappropriate to say that in the diamond mining industry too the Oppenheimers' interests are closely connected with the interests of the Rothschilds. Its very emergence at the end of the last century *De Beers* largely owes to Rothschild's money. Later on, in the years of the world economic crisis of 1929–1938 Rothschild literally saved this monopoly from the inevitable collapse by applying his financial influence. These and other less significant developments were the stages of Rothschild's money penetration in South African companies, engaged in mining and marketing diamonds.

The international character of *De Beers* had been fully formed at the turn of the century, after it obtained complete control over the major diamond producers operating in the territory of the Republic of South Africa. *De Beers* had always kept a watchful eye on the emerging diamond mining companies and sought in one way or another to take them over. It also holds shares of the major diamond mining companies operating outside South Africa in South West Africa, Angola, the Congo (Kinshasa), Tanzania and other countries.

The report submitted by the UN special committee on the activities of foreign business in South West Africa gives significant figures on the national distribution of holders of *De Beers* shares.

According to the report, the shares are distributed approximately in the following way[5]:

		per cent
Southern Africa	–	44
Continental Europe	–	27
United Kingdom	–	25
United States	–	1
Other countries	–	3

The existence of *De Beers*, which has succeded in establishing its control over all major diamond producers in Southern Africa and which has enormous investments in diamond mining companies elsewhere, has created conditions for establishing a monopoly on diamond trade. Suffice it to say that through marketing outlets of *De Beers* not less than 80 % of the total diamond output of the capitalist world is sold[6].

Large funds deducted from profits enable *De Beers* to create huge reserve funds it needs to fight any competitor that may appear in the diamond mining industry. *De Beers* invests a significant part of its profits in various industries of the countries of Southern Africa. Large investments of this kind were made in the early 1950's when the group received additional profits from marketing diamonds of the old reserves stored up at the time of the world economic crisis. With this aim in mind, *De Beers* founded *De Beers Investment Trust* in 1952, which in two years of its activities invested almost 50 million pounds[7] in undertakings not engaged in diamond mining and marketing. Most of these funds were invested in gold, copper and coal mining, as well as in the chemical industries of South Africa, Zambia and Rhodesia.

Through affiliated *De Beers Industrial Corporation* the diamond monopoly controls the processing industries. *De Beers Industrial Corporation* and powerful *Imperial Chemical Industries* of Britain have split up in half the shares of *South African Explosives and Chemical Industries*, which is the world's largest producer of explosives, supplying its products for the mining industries of South Africa and the neighbouring countries.

Of the rest of the companies where *De Beers Industrial* holds large amounts of shares *Borth and Hud Metal Products* engaged in producing and marketing diamond bits and other drilling equipment should be mentioned alongside *Kimberly Engineering Works, Firfontain Colliery, South African Nylon Spinker* and others.

It should be pointed out that the scope of *De Beers Consolidated Mines* investing in various industries not engaged in diamond mining has sharply increased in the post-war period. According to the statistics at the end of 1963 there were invested in such industries over 106 million pounds, which is almost one half of all the investments of the monopoly[8].

We have confined this report to considering only those companies, whose activities in one way or another are connected with the gigantic Oppenheimer empire. The careful study of the structure of *Anglo-American Corporation*, the thorough investigation of this financial octopus, which has spread its tentacles over many African territories, make it possible to find at least the ends of that entangled net, which monopolistic interests have woven in Southern Africa. To get a clearer picture, a special thorough and detailed analysis is needed.

5 UN, GA, 19 th Doc. No. A/5840, January 5, 1965, p. 45

6 *New York Herald Tribune*, June 4, 1963

7 *The Economist*, L. Vol. C LXXI, 1954, No. 5782, p. 991

8 *Financial Yearbook of Southern Africa*, 1965, Vol. 11, p, 92

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Preconditions for the Origination of Racialism from the Sociological Standpoint

In this contribution I would like to deal with the social and economic foundation of racialism. My standpoint is

that of a sociologist, which corresponds to my approach to the problem.

Racialism as an expression of a crisis in society is a great danger to the relationships between people. One often says that there is racialism in South Africa. One analyses its political and economic causes and consequences. But politicians, economists and sociologists occupy themselves very rarely with the classification of the various types of racial discrimination. Usually the South African Republic, Rhodesia, the USA, Great Britain and Australia are referred to as the main spheres of racial conflict. In this respect, one is often not clear about the colonial spheres of the Romanic states of France, Portugal and Spain.

To start with it is clear that racial antagonisms are concentrated most strongly in the Anglo-Saxon countries. To a varying extent all of these countries are successors to the British Empire. Despite all the differences in their present-day relations with the former metropolis, their culture, their ideology, their economic organization and their political conceptions are derived from a common basis. Belonging to this common basis are:

1. The indirect control of colonies and dependent regions;
2. A policy of keeping indigenous groups apart from the influx of European civilisation, and as a result of this a national pluralism or isolationism;
3. In the ideological field: The influence of Protestantism in its various denominations and the ideological currents derived from it.

This constellation does not cause racialism by itself, but it is a precondition for its origin. When one considers the economic factors (different stages of economic development, the irregular development of various economically specialized separate groups) and political factors (the antagonism between dependent groups, which reduces the strength of the struggle against colonialism), then one will come closer to understanding the causes of the origin of racialism in the Anglo-Saxon countries. This racialism has two specific characteristics:

1. It is or was only a short time ago promoted from above, i.e. by the government, in the USA, Great Britain and Australia, and has or had a semi-official character.
2. It is supported by the doctrines of extremist Protestant denominations with reference to the Bible (e.g. the three sons of Noah, Genesis 9/25–27). Therewith it becomes an "unchanging condition created by God".

It is clear that here it is a question of an aggressive ideology of the classes ruling there.

In the Romanic colonial countries the situation is different. These states began their colonial expansion as early as the late Middle Ages. As opposed to the Anglo-Saxon countries, where colonialism was brought by private companies, in the Romanic countries it was predominantly an affair of the State.

1. Capitalist relationships were at that time not so developed that the bourgeoisie could be tempted to invest capital in the colonies. Robbery, iron rule and a dictatorship of prices under threat of military force were predominant in the relationships between the colonies and the metropolis. The expense of maintaining this system was very high and no private company was in a position to cover the costs of maintaining a colonial army.
2. Romanic feudalism was closely linked with the Catholic Church, which backed centralism and absolutism.
3. The colonial expansion of these countries was partly influenced by the antiquated traditions of the Roman Empire.

For this reason romanic colonialism is characterised by:

1. Direct rule of the colonies;
2. the assimilation of indigenous people and the destruction of the social structure of the dependent society;
3. the strong influence of Catholicism, which emphasizes the equality of rights of people (of course, only of Catholics) and which promoted a liturgic language.

Taking these historic conditions into account, one cannot refer to a classical racialism in the romanic sphere. The relationships between the colonies and the metropolis shifted from a platform of racialism to a platform of nationalism and the defence of national assimilation. This nationalism still stresses racial differences, but these only have a secondary importance. For this reason it is necessary to compare this so-called racialism with racialism in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Romanic racialism does not bear an official character. From the side of the African population there is also an aversion to the white colonialists, which is an expression of resistance against national assimilation into a racially foreign group. This aversion is taken advantage of by extremist nationalist forces. It is an expression of a defensive ideology against national assimilation.

On this basis we can now define the preconditions for the origin of racialism:

1. Differentiation in every respect;
2. Isolation;
3. Non-equivalent exchange.

Proceeding from this point of view one can define the common characteristics of Anglo-Saxon and romanic colonialism. In general it is correct to say:

In both systems the dependent population groups are discriminated against and exploited. The main task of sociology and anthropology consists not only of analysing these phenomena and explaining them, but also of bringing scientific arguments to bear against every form of discrimination. We are all part of humanity and belong to the biological species of homo sapiens. We have the same potential in social and cultural development. For this reason one must strongly condemn any form of discrimination as inhuman, unnatural and politically dangerous.

H. REINHARDT (G.D.R.)

Apartheid Policy and Economy in South Africa

Authoritative politicians of the National Party headed by Verwoerd and Vorster have layed and lay again and again special stress on the fact that in South Africa the apartheid policy should have priority over economic development. Complete territorial apartheid should be realized by means of a decentralization of industry by creating so-called "border industry" areas along the boundaries of the "reserves", the future "Bantustans". This plan provides for the driving of the whole African population out of so-called white South Africa within a few decades, and its crowding into the "reserves",

which comprise only 13 % of the country. These regions, where almost exclusively only primitive agriculture exists and where the soil is damaged by erosion, are in no way able to feed the 4 million Africans living there today; hence the great majority must work in industry: in the "border industries", in the industrial centres of so-called white South Africa, in the mining district, and in the white farming regions. This means the perpetuation of migratory work, and completely depriving the African proletariat of its rights, as they are treated in the "white" areas like foreigners, but wihtout the protection and aid of diplomatic representation. The degree of exploitation of the African workers, on which the South African economy depends, is increased in this way. The living standard will be far lower in the "Bantustans" than in the industrial centres.

This plan – already proved to be absurd in 1948 by the Fagan Commission, and severely restricted by the Tomlinson Commission (at least 50,000 jobs had to be newly created yearly) which some years later was charged with detailing measures for its realization – this plan obviously contradicts the economic interests of the South African industrial bourgeoisie. The Fagan Commission had stated on the strength of its investigations that the process of urbanization of the Africans could no longer be reversed. The actual development during the last two decades–despite comprehensive intensification of apartheid laws, the obligation to carry passes, restrictions on movements from area to area, and "resettlement" of the Non-Whites (already done on a large scale, chiefly into the so-called township and transit camps)–shows a steady increase of the African working force in the industrial centres. Thus for instance it was stated at the 50th ILO session that from 1960 to 1965 alone the number of African workers in the manufacturing industry increased every year by 100,000. Since 1960 the number of Coloureds in Port Elizabeth, one of the four great industrial centres, has risen from 68,000 to 90,000, while the number of Africans has risen from 90,000 to 140,000.[1] Thus it is clearly seen that economic expansion, aspiring on one hand towards rapid expansion of industrial production, cannot be reconciled with the compulsory resettlement of the Africans. The permanent re-iteration, of the necessity to accomplish total apartheid–the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration Coetzee went so far as to maintain that he would prefer a poor but white South Africa[2]–and of the growing spectre of a "black" majoritization, have propaganda value only. In reality, the state itself violates continually the apartheid policy which it propagates, undertaking itself public extensions of factories and re-establishment in areas where conditions favour the utilization of capital, i.e. not directing its main investments to the "border" areas. We need only recall in this connection the extension of SASOL or the development of the already existing ports. In consequence of imperialism's tendency to irregular economic development, the effects of which are not only felt between the capitalist countries, but also within *these* countries, the capital is invested in those sections and areas which promise the highest profits. Thus is explained why not only the private domestic and foreign monopolies prefer the existing industrial centres or at least the immediate proximity of the "border" areas, but so does the State, which itself cannot stand outside the effects of the economic laws of capitalism.

The recommendations of the program for economic development from 1965–70, providing an average annual rate of increase for the whole economy of 5.5 %, did not provide the highest rates of increase for the predominantly labour-intensive fields, such as would be settled exclusively in the "border areas", but puts at the top of the list the manufacture of petrol and coal, the construction of transport equipment (excluding cars), machine-building, and the steel industry[3], i.e. all branches which are highly capital-intensive and which are already concentrated in the old centres or in the permanent regions of raw materials respectively, and will never be shifted to the "border areas".

The domestic and foreign monopoly bourgeoisie, which have to be won over to invest in the border areas, remain sceptical and reserved towards the project of decentralization. At the Executive Assembly of the South African Association of the Chamber of Industry in Durban in 1966, the Chamber of the Cape Province stated that South Africa in its economic development had reached a stage where economic considerations were incompatible with the policy presented by the government. In the opinion of the Chamber, the Republic of South Africa should begin at once to train the available working force according to future demands of the labour market; this training should include also the African working force which would become, in their opinion, a permanent part of the urban population[4]. According to this statement, the total number of employees in the manufacturing industry rose between June 1964 and October 1966 from 849,700 to 973,000–of which only 27,300 were Whites but 67,000 Africans, 23,900 Coloureds and 6,100 Indians.

Compared with that, since 1960 only about 8,500 jobs were newly created in the "border industry" areas, and this figure includes for instance the Phalaborwa Copper Mines, which is no real "border industry".

These examples alone show that one cannot in any way speak of a *development* of separation of "white" South Africa and the "reserves". The moves by the state monopoly of the South African government, attempting to make private investments more attractive, also don't change this fact. The attempts at temporary suspension of the effects of economic laws, for example by partial abolition of job reservation for the border industries, fixing of extremely low wages, application of tax privileges, and assistance in the establishment of new factories, cannot cover up the fact that decentralization of industry to the border industries, in general, has little hope of success. The reason for this is the effect of the fundamental law of the capitalist method of production, the "production of surplus value" which is "the absolute law of this method of production,"[5] forcing the capitalist employer to invest his capital in the fields with the highest prospects of profit. One can state, nevertheless, that the apartheid policy of the ruling white minority, which supposedly intends to secure its eternal predominance in the Republic of South Africa, is contrary to the immediate economic interests of the capitalist.

The small initial success of the "border industry" pro-

1 Evening Post of the 9th and 11th of November 1967; see International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa – "Information Service Manual", Social and Political, p. 88

2 Rand Daily Mail 19. 10. 67, cited in "Information Service Manual" as Footnote *1*

3 Dr. P. S. Rieckert, "The Economic Development Programme"

4 Special Report No. 3 of the 51st ILO Session

5 Karl Marx, "Das Kapital", Berlin 1955, Vol. 1, p. 560

jects, in my opinion does not at all indicate that this development, opposing the economic interests of the ruling class, can be accomplished. On the contrary, under the actual social conditions such a social decentralization, pursuing above all political and not economic objectives, must fail. The decentralization of industry in South Africa does not absolutely mean a more equal distribution of the position nor does it aim at the development of underdeveloped areas. The contrary is true. Creating the "border industries", they intend to restrict the Africans artificially to a low stage of development. The planned „Bantustans", in which also in future, apart from a few small factories for processing agricultural products, no dynamic industries will be created, will become reservoirs of a labour force in which an enormous industrial reserve for the domestic and foreign monopoly bourgeoisie will be available for limitless exploitation. The mass of the Africans would have to work as migratory labour in the white industrial centres, compared with which the numbers commuting from the "reserves" to the border industries will remain extremely small[6]. The massive transformation of the inhabitants of the "reserves" into a vegetating industrial reservoir, staggering through migratory labour from one period of unemployment to the next, cannot delay the workers in the process of consciousness of their situation. The African proletariat will organize and fight against the oppressor.

H. SCHMIDT (G.D.R.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends and Comrades,
Allow me to say one or two words on the political role of anti-imperialists solidarity with the national liberation movement in the south of Africa.

Two basic questions habe been clearly worked out on this:

1. The Republic of South Africa, as has once again been convincingly shown here, is the hard core of the remaining remnants of colonialism in Africa, indeed in the world. All of the main imperialist powers are directly interested in the maintenance of this bastion. Within the framework of the gobal strategy of U.S. imperialism and of its allies, the Republic of South Africa has over and above this the task of obstructing and sabotaging the struggle for social progress and for the completion of national independence in the African states south of the Sahara and of transferring the neo-colonialism of the imperialist monopolies to Afrika, or, to use a term recently applied at the All-India Conference for Solidarity and World Peace at Hyderabad–to pave the way for the Latin-Americanisation of Africa.

For this reason, apart from the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam and against the aggression of Israel–the war of a deputy–against the Arab states, special and topical importance is to be attached to the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa–and here once more, especially to the struggle against the apartheid Republic of South Africa in the current phase of anti-imperialist struggle. Its successes and set-backs are co-determinant for the international relationship of forces between imperialism and socialism and in the long run also for decisive fields of conflict in Europe and the USA!

It is therefore understandable that active solidarity with the liberation movements in the African south is one of the key factors of anti-imperialist solidarity.

2. In Europe, an increasing role is being played, especially by the West German Federal Republic, in continuously extending the special close relationship between the West German neo-fascists, revanchists and neo-colonialists on the one hand and the South African and Rhodesian racists and the Portuguese fascists and colonialists on the other hand, and in the adventurous plans of the West German revanchists to attempt for the third time to redivide the world in favour of German imperialism.

These relationships are being covered up more than ever before by the West German Grand Coalition Government, using its Social Democratic ministers, behind a smoke-screen of fine words about a "new eastern policy" and a "new Africa policy"; and some people who are politically naive in Europe and in Africa fall for this. For this reason we have always regarded one of the main tasks of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR to be the exposure of the secrets of this side of the preparations for a third world war. Today I would like to go into some further developments in this policy that have taken place recently. We are in possession of a photostat of confidential circular No. 11 issued in December 1967 by the German-South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg; in this circular the President of the Chamber, Bischoff, informed the members of the results of the secret meeting between West German and South African politicians and economic experts which was held in Bonn's Hotel Petersberg on 2nd November 1967. According to this, the meeting was arranged in a talk between West German Finance Minister Strauss, at whose request it was decided to keep the meeting secret, and the main representative of the state monopoly trust of South Africa, Dr. G. S. Kuschke, whose key position in the South African economy is described in detail for you in our Bonn-Pretoria memorandum.

The President of the Federal Board of German Industry, Fritz Berg, acted as host.

Those present for the West German side were:

Representatives of the three large banks, namely the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Commerzbank, and all the large trusts and cartels, such as Krupp, AEG, Siemens, BASF, Bosch, the Rheinische Steel Works, Demag, Volkswagen, Degussa, Lurgi, Thyssen, Klöckner, Deutsche Lufthansa, Oetker etc.

The Government was represented by:

The Interior Minister and several Foreign Office officials, as well as the Federal Minister for Scientific Research under whom all military and atomic research in the Federal Republic falls.

Strauss sent his special confidant Dr. Richard Jäger, Vice-President of the Bundestag (parliament). Brandt was represented at the talks by the Count of Posadowsky-Wehner, whose family, like others present, e. g. Casimir Prinz Wittgenstein, Conrad, Christoph Count von Rödern and Count Dönhoff, were indemnified for the GDR's land reform through their gigantic landed property in South Angola (You can find details of this in our memorandum also.)

6 Albert Lutuli, "My Country – My Life", Berlin 1966, p. 234

Those negotiating for South Africa were:

The above-named Kuschke; the main administrator of SS wealth in South Africa, Dr. Anton Rupert; as well as representatives of a whole string of state monopoly banks and other state monopoly undertakings, and subsidiaries of West German monopolies in South Africa.

The South African Government was represented by:

Its ambassador J. K. Uys, and by the economic adviser of Prime Minister Vorster, Dr. A. S. Jacobs, who also delivered one of the main speeches.

The other main speech was given by the trusted agent for South Africa of West German super-banker Abs, Dr. Felix Prentzel, head of the atom firm Degussa. (Please look up details of this upright man in our memorandum.)

The negotiations, which were "open-hearted", according to the minutes, dealt with four points:

1. To take advantage of the precarious situation facing the pound and the dollar to step up mutual cooperation, and to strengthen their own positions within their own spheres.

2. The removal of obstacles to this profitable cooperation by the prompt signing of an agreement, concluded by Strauss, against double taxation of profits in (West) Germany and South Africa.

3. The shifting of West German investments to technological processes and the transfer of know-how, as South Africa in general has enough capital at its disposal for the construction of industry.

4. The further deepening of the close spiritual and human ties between the Federal Republic and South Africa.

Another meeting of the same kind was arranged in South Africa for 1968, to supervise and continue the arrangements on intensified cooperation.

Here, in this planning of the next stage in the further development of the special alliance, lies the origin of the "new Africa policy" of the last few months, agreed on by representatives of the really decisive forces.

For Social Democratic Foreign Minister Brandt immediately set about the execution of the decision taken at the secret conference in Bonn. Immediately after the meeting, at the beginning of 1968, he sent Dr. Gustav Sonnenhol as Ambassador to Pretoria. Sonnenhol was not only an SS officer, but holder of the "skull ring" only awarded to SS men for outstanding racialist attitudes; and he was also a contact man between the Nazi Foreign Office and the Gestapo headquarters–just the right man, then, for Vorster. But still more important is the fact that prior to his appointment as Ambassador, he was Bonn's Foreign Ministry expert on development aid in Africa. Sonnenhol, who is now in Pretoria, drew up the basic plan for the joint softening-up policy which Bonn and Pretoria are attempting to sell as the "new Africa policy", as modelled on Bonn's eastern policy.

Sonnenhol acted in this capacity in West German development aid organisations (up to the time of his appointment as Ambassador), as the deputy of Social Democratic Development Aid Minister Wischnewski. Just the right man in that respect too, then.

Officially the latest stage of the new Africa policy began in April 1968 with the ambassadors' conference in Abidjan. Brandt instructed all ambassadors of the Federal Republic in Africa that–in line with the new eastern policy–the question of recognition of the GDR should no longer be the central issue of Africa policy, but the development of economic relations. Thus they could put a better face on the continually growing trade relations with South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). As the Springer newspaper "Die Welt" expressly assured, Sonnenhol was very satisfied. The paper hadn't expected so much realism from a Social Democratic minister.

For Strauss, however, this still wasn't enough. He drew in his friends from the neo-nazi N.P.D. On May 3rd this party's newspaper, "Deutsche Nachrichten" (German News), started a fierce attack on Brandt. He was still too faint-hearted in the policy of "reconciliation between white and black", the neo-nazi paper wrote, adding: "And indeed that–the support of South African Premier Vorster's policy of coming to a modus vivendi with moderate Black Africa–is the only really big question of the Africa policy."

And the paper went on, entirely in the spirit of the infamous book by Strauss called Entwurf für Europa (Design for Europe) which includes his attitude to Gaullist France, and in terms taken almost word for word from his demands for a new Africa policy:
(I am again quoting the original text.)

"The African south with its gigantic mineral wealth, with its up-and-coming economy, with its hard core of whites in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese regions, is the most important part of Africa. The African south controls the link between two oceans, it has enormous opportunities for expansion, capacity for absorbing immigrants, a stable policy . . . The African south is strategically, economically and politically the ideal, indeed the vital partner for any European formation . . . For Europe, Africa policy can only be South Africa policy."

Then follows the open demand to make Africa solely a sphere of interest for Europe under the hegemony of the West German imperialists.

Brandt understood and obeyed. On May 16th, he summoned the ambassadors to all African states south of the Sahara to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn and explained to them that the new European policy did not mean recognition of the status quo in Europe. The principle still applied that whoever was interested in friendly relations with the Federal Republic (read economic aid) would have to avoid giving any impression that he wanted to take up diplomatic relations with the GDR.

And the new Africa policy of intensified economic cooperation with African states (read neo-colonialist penetration) did not mean a restriction in the further development of economic and other relations between West Germany and South Africa and Rhodesia, which had become established by tradition and long-term contracts. And although he camouflaged all this with the customary fine words designed for the naive, everything was immediately clear.

There are people who didn't take Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" seriously. One shouldn't make the same mistake again and laugh off Strauss's "Design for Europe" of the newspaper articles written or inspired by him.

If one does this, then serious consequences arise from what we have noted, not only for the struggle against the so-called "new eastern policy", which is of importance here, but also for the struggle against the "new Africa policy" of West German imperialism and its South African ally, which policies are closely connected.

Thus solidarity with the liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa comes close, in its importance for the threatened nations of Europe (in particular the GDR), to the tremendous solidarity movement with the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people.

What we learnt there, must be applied here. Even the solidarity with the peoples of South Africa must grow up out of old, obsolete conceptions which mainly see the humanitarian side of solidarity. Of course, the solidarity of peoples, which plays such a large role in the political life of the GDR, has a strong humanitarian side in the case of Vietnam itself, and the old traditions of Christian brotherly love, bourgeois humanism and above all proletarian internationalism live on in the GDR. But taking such an example as Vietnam, it can be seen that solidarity, if it is to be fully effective, must be something more–it must become a genuine, all-round alliance of the peoples.

Millions of people throughout the whole world are today making a stand for the cause of the Vietnamese people, as they would for their own cause.

This must also be our aim in the solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa.

For this reason we must develop clear political tasks out of our researches, books and records, if these are not to remain dead paper. More than ever before it is a question of developing political and ideological solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa, and of conducting a broad campaign of instruction on the whole importance of their struggle against racialism and colonial oppression and for the peace of the world and the security of Europe.

We must also approach the question of material solidarity as cooperation in an alliance, and give effective support in every way to all forms of the struggle–including the guerilla war that has opened out in Southern Africa.

Furthermore:

Random and parallel solidarities with the various countries and organisations must be combatted and overcome and a coordination of all forms of solidarity among peoples, superior to the imperialist global strategy, must be striven for.

In short: Solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa is also a component of the great and difficult process of overcoming the division of the anti-imperialist forces, of building up their unity to a new, higher level, to which we will all be witnesses and which we will all help to bring about–and to which, we hope, this conference will be a modest contribution.

But from all this it follows that for the peoples of Europe and Africa who are affected, one must repeat, that in the struggle against the new Europe and new Africa policy of Strauss and Vorster, of Kiesinger and Salazar, of Abs and Rupert, we are allies and must act as allies.

This means:

A strong ideological struggle against all attempts to smokescreen the aggressive Europe and Africa policies of the West German imperialists;

the mobilisation of the peoples for the security of Europe and the freedom of Africa!

active solidarity and material aid for all forms of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa!

the resolute building-up of a new unity of all anti-imperialist forces of the whole world!

A.Y. SHPIRT (U.S.S.R.)

Military Build-up in the Republic of South Africa

The year 1960, which was the frontier line of the rise of independent Africa and saw a number of states to emerge in the territories of the former colonies of Britain, France and Belgium, was the year which also saw mass terror staged by white racialists against the native population and the progressive forces in the Republic of South Africa. And yet, it was precisely in that year that the country witnessed the start of an unprecendented arms race which is still going on today.

The ways and aims of the military build-up by the racialist Government changed with the changing political situation in the country and in the world at large.

The regime of terror in the country ruled by a racialist Government is opposed not only by discriminated Africans, people of Asian origin and so-called coloureds (metises) but by democratic elements of the European population as well.

The task of R.S.A. reactionary rulers of building up the machinery of suppression to maintain the dictatorship of an insignificant part of the white minority, important as it is, is far from being its only task. Acting as the stronghold of imperialism in the African continent and being the moving force in the alliance with the racialists of Southern Rhodesia and Portugal, the South African reaction pursues its own specific goals in carrying out a political, economic and military expansion in the African countries bordering on or located close to Southern Africa. The most important of these tasks is to create by economic, political or military means a vast sphere of R.S.A. influence, embracing a number of countries in Southern and Central Africa. Recruting bands of mercenaries and sending them to the Congo (Kinshasa) and other African countries, providing loans for Malawi, expanding trade with Lesoto, Botswana and Swaziland, subversion through reactionary Governments of some African states against the Organisation of African Unity is by far an incomplete list of means to which the R.S.A. Government resorts to carry out their expansionist plans.

The R.S.A. rulers have repeatedly emphasized the important role, which their country is called upon to play in a third World War prepared by imperialists and in the measures taken by them. In the present time, the military build-up in the R.S.A. is carried on along the following lines:

a) to increase the police force and place it under military command,

b) to increase the strength of the army and modernize its weaponry,

c) to boost the military and economic potential by expandig the raw materials base, by setting up its own military industry and research centres,

d) to carry out measures in accordance with Nato aggressive plans and in the interests of individual imperialist powers.

A sharp increase in military budget appropriations

illustrates most graphically the scope of military build-up in the R.S.A. In 1966/67 they amounted to 255 million rands, that is, six times over that for 1960/61. (See Annex 1).

The military build-up is carried on on the basis of the continued policy of racial discrimination. The hopes of some African statesmen that in view of "a more flexible" policy towards the countries of black Africa, announced by Vorster, the machinery of apartheid will be weakened are groundless. Alongside a sharp increase in the strength of the police force and the army, particular attention was paid to the fact that no African or so-called coloured was to be called up to military service. In 1966/67 the number of Africans drafted into the police was reduced by 500 persons[1] although the police force was increased by almost 2,000 persons as against 1960/61 to reach the figure of 31,000. At the same time, the police was equipped with modern weapons. In the past few years motorized units were formed to include armoured cars and air squadrons.

In 1961 a special amendment was introduced in the Defence Act, providing for the establishment of a committee to coordinate the operations of the army and police in suppressing the liberation movement, and two years later army units were assigned police duties proper.

During 1961/67 the strength of the army was constantly growing and in 1967, according to official figures, exceeded 17,000, which is twice as large than in 1961. During the same period a great deal of attention was paid to reinforcing and improving combat readiness of the reservists, who are persons of European origin only. Volantary recruitment and selective service were replaced in 1967 by compulsory military training and an extended period of military training of up to 12 months for the first period with the subsequent call-up for a few weeks of military training was introduced.

The citizen force of 2,000 men in 1961 numbered already a few dozens of thousands in 1967.

A substantial increase was made in the strength of the auxiliary corps, consisting of so-called coloured inhabitants of the R.S.A. The servicemen of this corps under the command of white officers provided various kinds of services for the armed forces, mainly, the Navy.

As the strength of the army grew, it was supplied with modern military material. Exceptionally large were expenditures to provide modern weapons for the air force and motorized transport.

The Air force accounts for almost one third of the officer corps and enlisted men of the R.S.A. armed forces. It is equipped with jet planes, purchased in the United States, Britain, France and other West European countries, while the motorized units use Centurions, Shermans and other tanks supplied by Britain and the United States.

The Navy, which in 1967 consisted of 35 warships, is also rapidly expanding. According to the South African press, there are plans of reinforcing it with 3 submarines, for which orders were placed abroad, at a cost of some 8 million rands each.

To strengthen the coast defences, the radar anti-aircraft system now operating in the R.S.A. northern borders will be supplemented with a Decca navigation system, whose installation will cost 3 million pounds. According to Minister of Defence Botha, "at the time of war this system will be extremely useful for our Navy, naval air force and for our friends."[2] According to the foreign press, the total value of arms and material of the South African army in autumn 1967 exceeded 1,600 million rands.[3]

The increase in the strength of the armed forces was coupled with arrangements to boost the military and economic potential. In the past few years attempts were made to step up the production of strategic materials and enlarge their stockpile, while considerable attention was paid to the construction of new heavy industry plants.

To provide liquid fuel, it is planned to increase the production of synthetic benzine at a Johannesburg plant and build a new one, since the present volume of output can meet only one tenth of the requirements in motor fuel.

A major task of putting the R.S.A. economy on a military footing is to set up its own military industry, which could supply the R.S.A. armed forces with modern weapons and ammunition. The R.S.A. has gained tangible results in this field due to the growing aid of the imperialist powers. According to the foreign press, the army is being increasingly equipped with weapons manufactured at South African plants. The latter fully meet the army's needs in firing arms and ammunition as well as in some types of military equipment such as engines, radio equipment and so on.

The R.S.A. Government pays an ever growing attention to putting the work of research centres and specialists on a military footing. A close contact has been established since 1962 between military agencies and the Council on Scientific and Industrial Research. In 1966 the latter received from the Defence Ministry 10.2 million rands to conduct secret military research. The network of scientific research institutes and other scientific establishments is being constantly expanded.

Soon after the Second World War research was begun in the field of nuclear energy and the production of nuclear weapons by a specially set up Atomic Energy Board. A nuclear reactor was built and put into operation with American assistance in 1965. In the past ten years extensive work has been done in providing fission materials and equipment necessary for the production of A-bombs with the help of West German experts. A close cooperation has been established between the South African Institute of Nuclear Energy and research centres of the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1963 scientific research institutes of rocket technology and naval research were established, with the basic task of elaborating methods of defending sea-ports and coast in war time. In 1966 a Defence Research Council was set up under the chairmanship of the Defence Minister. The Council supervises and directs the work of various committees consisting of representatives of the army and scientific organisations (Defence Resources Committee and others).

The military build-up in the R.S.A. on such a large scale and the increase of its military and economic potential are carried on on the basis of all-round aid and assistance of world imperialism.

However, the application of political and economic sanctions have not brought about the anticipated results

1 Military and Police Forces in the Republic of South Africa U.N. Unit of Apartheid N.Y. 1967, p. 10
(ST/PSCA/Ser. A/3 A/AC. 115/ZZ 203-204)

2 *Africa Digest 1967*, IV, Vol. XIV, No. 5, p. 97

3 *Africa Digest 1967*, X, Vol. XIV. No. 8, p. 156

in view of the opposition on the part of the United States and other imperialist powers. This was primarily reflected in the volume of the R.S.A. trade, which did not only decline but showed a considerable increase after 1962, despite the boycott of South African goods by many countries. Thus, the volume of South African exports for the whole of 1962 was 1,326 million dollars, while during 9 months of 1967 it amounted to 1,397 million dollars respectively.[4] The trade with the United States, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan showed a particularly sharp increase. The growth of the foreign trade was coupled with an expanded inflow of capital from those countries. Direct investments from the United States alone rose from 357 million dollars in 1962 to 528 million dollars in 1965.[5]

The capacity of the R.S.A. military industry equipped with machinery supplied by the United States and other imperialist countries, reached such a high level that imports of many types of foreign-made armaments lost their former importance. Foreign capital investments in military industries have become more profitable than arms sales.

In the context the above facts the hypocricy of those imperialist powers, which after long procrastinations finally stopped their arms supplies to South Africa only to try to present this fact as a demonstration of their loyalty to African states, becomes apparent. Thus, the United States, whose investments went for the construction of a number of military plants to produce modern weapons for the R.S.A. ceased its arms supplies to that country in late 1963 only.

All-round aid and assistance provided by world imperialism for the R.S.A. to carry on its military build-up are explained by the new role, which has been assigned for her to play in Nato aggressive plans in the African continent and in a third World War they are planning.

That is why the R.S.A. fascist regime performs police duties not only in its own territory but throughout the African continent as well.

A sharp increase in the army's strength and its reinforcement with modern weapons should turn it, according to imperialist designs, into the most powerful armed force in Africa, taking into account the relatively small armies of African states and their inadequate military equipment.

The aggressors view the R.S.A. in a third World War they are preparing for as a major supplier of strategic materials necessary for nuclear technology (uranium, thorium, rare metals and others). In addition, there are plans to use the country's territory for expanding the existing and establishing new military bases and various military projects. It is worth noting the well-known special interests of the imperialist powers, which determine their efforts to step up the R.S.A. military build-up.

Britain is primarily interested in retaining her control of the naval base in Simonstown and establishing a new one in Durban. After repeated statements of the Labour Government denouncing the policy of apartheid British war ships paid a good will visit to Capetown in July 1967.

In reply to statements made by Labour M.P.s who pointed to the inadmissibility of such a visit to a country with a fascist regime Defence Secretary Reynolds said that it was in the British interests, from the point of view of defence and from any other point, to preserve the possibilities provided by the agreement on Simonstown.

The United States pays attention mostly to expanding the scope of work performed by communications and tracking stations. One such station near Pretoria is of major importance both for the Apollo manned flight to the Moon and experimental research of planets by unmanned flights.

Other stations located in the R.S.A. serve the purpose of optically locating and tracking artificial earth sattelites and receiving telemetric information. One of the seven mobile Glotrack stations is used to track military ballistic missiles launched from Cape Kennedy. [6]

The cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of South Africa in the field of chemical, bacteriological and nuclear weapons production as well as rocket technology is described at great length in GDR publications.[7] It is worth noting the considerable growth of activities in the last years of West German revanchists aimed at expanding rocket bases and test grounds in the R.S.A. territory.

The continued military build-up in the R.S.A. carried on with imperialist assistance represents a serious menace not only to the peoples of Africa but to world peace as well.

4 Compiled according to *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* 1964 November, 1968, February

5 *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1967*, Washington 1967, p. 817

6 *International Affairs* 1968, 12, p. 45

7 *Bonn-Pretoria Alliance.* Memorandum of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic, Dresden 1967; *Grey Book on the Expansion and Neo-Nazism in West Germany*, Berlin, 1967

T. TAIROV (U.S.S.R.)

Apartheid, International Law and the United Nations

The policy of apartheid, pursued by the R.S.A. Government and the Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia, directly runs counter to the principles, the entire spirit and the specific provisions of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, as well as the Declaration and Convention of the United Nations on the Eliminations of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and a number of other acts of international law, which are of basic importance. The ideology and practice of apartheid as a variety of racism are strongly denounced by rules, constitutions and decisions adopted by various international social organizations, conferences and meetings.

The U.N. Charter lays down minimum rules of normal international intercourse of states. It is, therefore, a criminal violation of the U.N. Charter to ignore the collective will of the nations of the world. In this connection, it is appropriate to dwell on the problem of international illegality of racial discrimination under the U.N. Charter.

The principles of equality are directly laid down in the Preamble and Article I, paragraph one of Article 13 and Articles 55 and 56 of the U.N. Charter. Yet it is necessary to take into account the fact that it is not

possible to interpret this or that provision of the U.N. Charter separately from other articles. Thus, for example, the problem of racial discrimination cannot be considered outside the context of the norms consolidating principles of peace, friendly relations, cooperation and so on.

The protection of human rights is provided for in the Preamble and articles of Chapter 1 of the Charter which lay down one of the basic purposes of the United Nations as "to achieve international cooperation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Article 55 of the Charter also proclaims similar purposes, "The United Nations shall promote . . . universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

The need to observe fundamental human rights is expressed in this way, "All men are born free and equal in their dignity and rights." The next article also reiterates this idea, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". And then in Article 7, "All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination".

It follows from the analysis of the basic UN documents, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that the principle of equality without distinction as to race has been adopted as a major fundamental principle of modern international law and an obligation of every UN member.

The Government of the Republic of South Africa, formerly the Union of South Africa, well before joining the United Nations, had carried out a series of measures and adopted laws in glaring contradiction with the generally recognized norms of international law.

As far back as 1910 when the Union of South Africa was established its Government declared that all laws, adopted before the Union was formed, remained in force. Among those laws were the laws securing racial discrimination against Africans, Indians, Arabs, and other persons of non-European origin.

After 1910 and before the Union of South Africa joined the United Nations, it adopted a series of new acts, limiting the freedom of travel and residence, voting rights, the right to make civil transactions and so on. Among these, are for example, Representation of natives act, No. 12 of 1936, Native Administration Act, No. 38, of 1927, Native Land Act, No. 27 of 1913 and many other acts.

The recognition of the UN Charter by the R.S.A. Government gave rise to hope that the R.S.A. as all major states-members of the United Nations would observe and implement the UN principles. The non-observance of provisions of the UN Charter and, what is more, the violation of its articles would mean to ignore the collective will of peoples, which would inevitably result in the application of collective sanctions by the United Nations against a law-violating state.

On March 29, 1948 the ruling Nationalist Party published a pamphlet entitled, "The policy of the Nationalist Party towards the coloured population", where in a most cynical manner characteristic of a fascist party it laid down the aim of the apartheid policy, namely, a legalized mastery of the white population in the R.S.A.

Then followed a series of acts, which juridically secured the apartheid doctrine. Among these were Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, on Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Nr. 55 of 1949, Separate Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of 1951 and many other Acts.

The introduction of these laws and the continued mockery of human dignity in the R.S.A. testified to the fact that the R.S.A. Government was deliberately dodging the obligations it assumed under the UN Charter and was grossly flouting the purposes and principles of the United Nations, in defiance of the collective will of nations secured in the UN Charter based on the principles of equality and dignity of all men and selfdetermination of peoples without distinction as to race, colour or national origin.

In these years that followed the R.S.A. Government adopted new racist laws, limiting human rights on the basis of race and nationality[1].

The R.S.A. racialist laws have uprooted thousands of families from their urban homes and driven Africans to separate reservations. The mass expulsion of the African population, the unbearable conditions of life specially created for them directly violated the Convention on Genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1948. Article II of the Convention qualifies genocide as a deliberate creation for any group (national, ethnic, racial or religious) such living conditions, which are aimed at its complete or partial physical extermination. In the R.S.A. there are created for Africans such living conditions which are designed to cause them moral humilation and physical hardships, resulting in diseases among them and dooming them to poverty and constant hunger and giving rise to the highest infantile death rate among Africans. The R.S.A. Government has deliberately denied the majority of R.S.A. citizens, discriminated against according to race, political and social rights, guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Africans, Asians and so-called coloured citizens of the R.S.A. are deprived of each and everyone of the rights and freedoms, secured in Articles 1–26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The use of forced labour of the African population, the application of a system of court sanctions and administration arbitrariness also violate the generally-accepted principles, laid down in the Constitution of the International Labour Organization and the Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the ILO of May 10, 1944.

The direct comparison of the R.S.A. laws and the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights testifies to the former's racialist and, consequently, illegal character.

Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". In violation of this article of the Declaration, Articles 34 and 46 of the

1 Such as, for example, Transkey Constitution Act, 1963, Bantu Law Amendment Act, 1964, General Law Amendment Act, 1963

R.S.A. Constitution of 1961 proclaimed that only persons of European origin can become members of the two Houses of the South African Parliament–the Senate and the House of Assembly.

The same provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are violated by the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, which persecutes all persons, who are either Communists or Communist sympathizers, and outlawed the Communist Party, by rule No. 2017 adopted by the Government in 1953 forbidding Africans to gather in groups of more than 10 persons without permission of the Minister for Natives Affairs and by many other acts and rules adopted by the R.S.A. Parliament and Government.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights says, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." This Article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is violated by the same Suppression of Communism Act, which outlawed newspapers expressing Communist ideas.

The most brazen violation of this article of the Declaration was a 90 and later 180-day Detention Act and other acts, which practically gave a free hand to the police, having opened the way to complete arbitrariness.

Similar comparisons of articles of the UN Charter, the Convention on Genocide and other international law acts with numerous racialist acts of the R.S.A. reveal a glaring international illegality of the R.S.A. jurisdiction.[2]

In pursuing the apartheid policy and taking more and more measures to induce the non-European population to comply with the provisions of the R.S.A. racialist acts, the Government of the Nationalist Party has illegally refused until now to implement the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the XV UN General Assembly session, and ignored the collective will of nations, who expressed themselves in favour of establishing genuine political independence in the African continent.

Apartheid as a state and political system (as is the case with all the R.S.A. racialist acts) deliberately and criminally ignores each and everyone of the obligations under the Declaration and the Convention of the United Nations Organization on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, urging to take both national and international measures to eliminate the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid.

The spread of apartheid to South West Africa is a dangerous act on the part of the R.S.A. Government that threatens the international peace and security. The R.S.A. policy towards South West Africa is a sort of Anschluss of the South African Reich, revealing the aggressive expansionist substance of apartheid.

The question of racial discrimination practiced in the R.S.A. was placed for discussion by the United Nations in the very first year of its existence. At the complaint of the Indian Government the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin in South Africa was included in the preliminary agenda of the first UN General Assembly session. The complaint pointed out that the treatment of the South African Government of persons of Asian and Indian origin, in particular, ran counter to the UN Charter. The first UN General Assembly session adopted Resolution 44/1 on the question of "The Position of Indians in the Union of South Africa" and the U.S.A. Government was requested to observe the provisions of the UN Charter and "report at the next UN General Assembly session on the measures adopted for this purpose". What was significant was the fact that the same Field-Marshall Smuts, who at one time had advocated to include in the UN Charter a provision on the protection of fundamental human rights, was now challenging UN jurisdiction on this question, asserting that this issue was a matter of the competence of the USA Western countries (the US, Britain, Belgium, Sweden and others) supported the view held by the USA and tried to rubberstamp their resolution, which in fact avoided the solution of the problem. However, the attempts of the western powers to support the USA position had failed. The western powers voted against Resolution 44/1 adopted by the majority of the delegates to the UN General Assembly session.

In 1960 the Security Council discussed the question of racial discrimination in the R.S.A. Acting at the request of 29 African and Asian countries-members of the United Nations, it denounced "the situation that has emerged as a result of mass unarmed and peaceful demonstrations against racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa". In the Resolution adopted on April 11, 1960 the Security Council stated that should this situation continue it might threaten the international peace and security and urged the R.S.A. Government to renounce the apartheid policy. The Security Council also requested the UN Secretary-General on consultation with the R.S.A. Government to take measures to support the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. The Secretary-General visited South Africa in January 1961. He informed the Security Council that in his discussions with the South African Prime Minister he had failed to reach a mutually-acceptable agreement.

Since 1959 the General Assembly has been annually adopting resolutions denouncing apartheid in the R.S.A. One of these resolutions adopted at the 17th session proposed to take the following specific measures which could facilitate the cessation of the apartheid policy:

a) to break diplomatic relations with the R.S.A. Government or refrain from establishing such relations;

b) to close ports of every member-state for all vessels under the South African flag;

c) to issue laws to prohibit vessels of every member-state to call in South African ports;

d) to boycott all South African goods and refrain from exporting R.S.A. goods, including any weapons and ammunition;

e) to refuse to grant a permit to land and fly-over to all air ships, belonging to the Government of the Republic of South Africa and companies registered in accordance with its laws.[3]

The General Assembly also set up a special Committee consisting of 11 members to study the problem of racial discrimination in the R.S.A. in-between Assembly sessions. In fulfilling the functions assigned to it, the Committee heard a number of statements, studied

2 The textual comparisons of the articles of the Declaration and South Africa acts that established the illegality of apartheid was made by the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva. However, the Commission did not go farther than morally condemning apartheid. (See, South Africa and the rule of Law, International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, 1960)

3 UN General Assembly, A/5276, pp. 5-6

numerous documents and urged UN memberstates to take actions, recommended by the UN General Assembly and submitted reports to the UN General Assembly and the Security Council.

The Declaration of the United Nations Organization on the Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on November 20, 1963 constituted an important land-mark in the struggle of the UN progressive forces to denounce the policy of apartheid pursued by the R.S.A. Article 9 of this Declaration contains new important provisions which the General Assembly urged to use in fighting racism. It says,

"1. All propaganda and organizations based on ideas or theories of the superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin with a view to justifying or promoting racial discrimination in any form shall be condemned.

2. All incitement to acts of violence whether by individuals and organizations against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin shall be considered an offence against society and punishable under law.

3. In order to put into effect the purposes and principles of the present Declaration, all States shall take immediate and positive measures, including legislative and other measures, to prosecute and/or outlaw organizations which promote or incite to racial discrimination, or incite to or use violence for purposes of discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin".

The UN special Committee on the policies of apartheid published its annual reports and other materials which in rather great detail listed and analysed all the latest measures taken by the R.S.A. Government to intensify the policy of apartheid.

The Committee submitted its survey to the Security Council and General Assembly and in a unanimously adopted report to these two UN principle bodies urged the Security Council to take comprehensive economic sanctions against the R.S.A. and the Security Council and General Assembly to demand from the R.S.A. major trade partners primarily, Britain, the United States and France, to immediately break with the R.S.A. all relations assisting the R.S.A. Government in continuing the policy of apartheid.[4]

The recent trend of developments testifies to the fact that most of the UN resolutions and appeals of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to apply collective economic, political and other sanctions against the R.S.A. received with approval by the world public, remain unfulfilled and are ignored by the leading capitalist countries. Western representatives have been for years trying to convince UN member-states that the situation in the R.S.A. might be changed only through persuasion of the R.S.A. rulers. But, in fact, they have and are still hampering the application of economic sanctions, which are a means capable of bringing the racialist rulers in Pretoria to their senses.

The 20th UN General Assembly session adopted a new important international document, denouncing racialism in all its forms and urging to bring the national legislation into line with its provisions–the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The Soviet Union was one of the first to sign this convention. The major western countries, however, refuse to ratify it. Thus, the adoption of this convention as well as other international law acts, denouncing racial discrimination have not resulted in substantial changes in the R.S.A. racialist policy.

UN member-states could deal with the high-handed rulers of the Republic of South Africa had it not been for the constant diplomatic, military and economic support given by Nato powers to that racialist regime. That is why peoples of the world strongly demand that an end should be put to this support, that UN resolutions on the application of collective mandatory measures against the R.S.A. racialist regime as the only means capable of eradicating in the present context this disgrace of our century should be implemented in deeds and not in words.

Representatives of the R.S.A. and Western powers in the United Nations are trying to dodge the responsibility for the policy of apartheid. From the UN rostrum they argue against the competence of this international organization to discuss and take decisions on the questions of the R.S.A. racialist policy on the basis that this question allegedly falls under the jurisdiction of the R.S.A. Thus, the British representative at the 20th UN General Assembly session, in an attempt to justify the economic ties of his country with the R.S.A., asserted that the situation in the R.S.A. did not fall under Chapter VII of the UN Charter[5] and, therefore, the United Nations was incompetent to take decisions on this matter.[6]

The UN General Assembly resolution on the apartheid policies of South Africa, holds Dugard, attorney of the R.S.A. Supreme Court, is based on Articles 10 and 14 of the Charter and should be treated as recommending and not as legally binding. Therefore, South Africa is not bound to implement them.[7] "South Africa considers resolutions on apartheid, he goes on to say, ultra vires the Organization, since they violate Article 2 para 7 of the Charter"[8]. And yet, the advocate of apartheid has to admit that the General Assembly and the Security Council, which facie are entitled to determine their competence, have decided that apartheid is not outside their competence on the basis of Article 2 para 7 of the Charter. This fact is actually confirmed by numerous UN recommendations on the application of collective sanctions against the R.S.A., which by their nature correspond to the measures mentioned in Articles 40–41. It is not without anxiety that Dugard warns his Government that the United Nations may take decisions to use mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

The UN activities against racism and racial discrimination, numerous resolutions and recommendations on the application of various collective sanctions against the R.S.A. actually confirm that the United Nations considers the question of apartheid in the R.S.A. as a problem beyond the competence of one country alone. Apartheid runs counter to numerous international law acts including the International Covenant on human rights adopted by the 21st UN General Assembly session whose provisions require the adoption of national legislation in accordance with the articles of the Covenant. To use the words of

4 UN Report A/5957

5 Articles 39–42 of this Chapter of the Charter provide for the application of various collective mandatory measures, including the use of force.

6 A/SPC/SR. 472, pp. 3–4

7 C. J. R. Dugard. The Legal Effect of United Nations on Apartheid. The South African Law Journal LXXXIII (part 1)

8 Ibid., p. 52

the Irish delegate to the 20th UN General Assembly session, no one can hold that this question of the violation of fundamental human rights is, in fact, in the competence of an individual state . . . Article 2 para 7 does not preclude the United Nations from discussing cases of violation of human rights wherever they may occur[9].

One of the major aspects of identifying international law means of struggle against South African racism is the use of materials and documents of the Nuremberg trials of nazi criminals in whose official ideology racism played the leading part. This necessity stems from the fact that in its resolution of 11 December 1946 the United Nations reiterated the principles of international law that were embodied in the Statute of the International Military Tribunal.

The Tribunal brought to trial those who, among other crimes, perpetrated crimes against humanity, namely, murders, genocide, enslavement, exile and cruelties committed in respect of civilian population before or during the war or persecutions for political, race and religious reasons with a view to excercising or in connection with any crime under the jurisdiction of the Tribunal regardless of the fact whether these acts were violations of the national law of the country or not wherever they were committed (Article 6 para f). The complete enslavement in the R.S.A. of the non-European population persecuted for race, national or political reasons, relegation of millions of Africans to the position of slaves and a colonial people in their own country cannot raise doubts as to the fact that these atrocities fall under the definition of crimes under the Statute of the International Military Tribunal. This document alone provides sufficient grounds to bring to trial the R.S.A. leaders and the entire Government of the country for the criminal policy they pursue. It would not be inappropriate to note that under the Statute of the International Military Tribunal "the official position of those brought to trial, their position as heads of Government and responsible officials of various Government agencies should not be considered as a ground to relieve of responsibility or mitigate the punishment" (Article 7).

Under the Statute its provisions may be applied when acts of aggression are committed. To ensure the necessity of the application of the Statute of the International Military Tribunal in respect to the situation in the R.S.A. it is enough to point out that apartheid in design and practice is an aggression. This is confirmed by the occupation of South West Africa and the participation of R.S.A. mercenary forces in punitive actions against the national liberation movement.

T. VALTCHEV (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA)

Some Remarks on Problems Concerning the Social Consequences of Apartheid Policy

I should first of all like to thank the German comrades most cordially for convening this conference. The fact that such a wide circle of representatives of scientific institutions and social organizations are discussing the vital questions relating to South Africa is evidence of the outstanding role the German Democratic Republic is playing in the struggle against neo-colonialism and racism.

I should like to deal briefly with two questions: (1) The social consequences of apartheid, and (2) The relations of Bulgaria with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

The apartheid policy has grave consequences for the people of South Africa. Dr. Yastrebova dealt with this in detail in her papers. In addition to the important questions concerning the politically and economically disowned people, there are a great many social consequences supposedly only of secondary importance. The apartheid policy has most detrimental effects on the existence of African family groups, for instance. In some parts of the country, the numerical proportion of the two sexes is very unfavourable. Whereas there is an excessive number of women in the "reserves", the so-called Bantustans, male workers are concentrated around the industrial areas and in the big cities. This has a negative social result: the number of divorces and of illegitimate children is growing, prostitution begins to spread, and such conditions are favouring the development of juvenile delinquency. Or let us take the housing problem, for example. We know from our own experience the difficulties resulting from a sudden increase under certain conditions in the urbanization process. After the war South Africa experienced a peak period which subsequently led to an extremely strong influx of workers from rural areas into the towns. The towns became overcrowded, in the suburbs the slums were growing and the most horrible living conditions prevailed. And what can an African worker do to at least somewhat improve his housing conditions? Next to nothing. And the reason for this situation is by no means only the low pay he receives. Of greater importance, perhaps, is the fact that he is always treated as only a temporary inhabitant of the big cities. According to law the Bantustans are his permanent place of residence. Under these conditions there is no hope of a radical solution to the housing problem.

The education of the African population is similarly effected by the apartheid policy. And I am not only thinking of the well-known fact that the money spent on the education of a white child is ten times more than that spent on a black child. It is in this connection also very important to note that the apartheid policy frustrates the aspirations of African youth for higher education. And the difficulties any highly educated African is confronted with when trying to find suitable work are tremendous. Over and above this the curriculum for the African children is overburdened with religion and handicrafts. Concerning secondary education the racialist government prefers to build schools in the Bantustan areas and not in the big cities. Many children when they reach the age of 12 to 14 are therefore faced with the choice either to discontinue their education or to return to the "reserves".

In the period of technological advance all countries, including the highly developed ones, are pursuing the further perfection of their educational systems. In contrast to this the racialists are inventing all kinds of obstacles hampering the education of the youth of South

9 A/SPC/SR. 477, p. 1

Africa. This can only be considered a crime against human rights.

Similar conditions prevail in all spheres of social life–in regard to sports, cultural events, public services and so on.

The exploited and oppressed people of South Africa are arising against this policy of unrestrained racialism. They are in need of the all-round support of the progressive forces throughout the world. I repeat–the progressive forces throughout the world–for we do not share the opinion that events in Guatemala, in Angola or in Ceylon are no concern of ours. It is surprising to have heard such conceptions from people belonging to the communist and working class movement. Dr. Schilling has outlined excellently that the revolutionary process in the world is an integrated, indivisible one. The anti-imperialist struggle in the heart of Europe facilitates the liberation of the oppressed peoples in Southern Africa. The inevitable defeat of the racialists is going to weaken the entire imperialist system.

Imbued with this conviction, not only those socialist countries such as the Soviet Union, the GDR or Poland are waging the struggle against colonialism, but also Bulgaria which has never had close contacts with South Africa. And I should like to convince you that even a country of the size of Bulgaria can make and has already made an important contribution to the struggle against colonialism and racialism. I should like to recall that about 25 years ago the Bulgarian people were able to gain a victory over racialism here in Europe despite extremely difficult conditions. Thanks to the resistance of the entire population it became impossible for the nazis to deport or exterminate the Jewish minority in our country. Later, during the liberation movement in North Africa and particularly in Algeria, the Bulgarian merchant fleet extended considerable aid to the National Liberation Front of Algeria by breaking through the French military cordon several times to bring arms to Algeria. Doctors from my country were in those days serving in units of the Algerian liberation army.

A few months ago, in December 1967, the Bulgarian delegation at the General Assembly of the United Nations proposed a resolution in the interests of accelerating liberation of the remaining colonies. This motion was seconded by 39 countries and carried by the majority.

I mention these facts in order to stress that the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa is an indivisible part of our common struggle, in which even those countries which have never had close relations with South Africa, can and must take part.

Thank you.

H. U. WALTER (G.D.R.)

The Conception of "Border Industrialization" as a Specific Expression of the System of Total Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa

The brutal exploitation of the African section of the population forms the essential economic basis of the racist apartheid system of South Africa.

The high proportion of Africans in the total of working people demonstrates the high degree of dependence of the economy on the African labour force. This fact, as well as the specific functioning of the national liberation struggle of the African peoples on the development of South Africa, force the ruling class to look constantly for methods to maintain the apartheid system. In order to reduce above all the concentration of the South African working-class (the most dynamic force of the South African liberation movement) in the industrial centres, and to paralyse the necessary formation of an organized proletariat respectively, the racist extremists of South Africa, who created by means of apartheid ideology a fundamentally antihuman and narrow-minded ideology as the doctrine of the state, aimed at resettling by force the African section of the population of the crowded industrial centres in "reserves".

In order to take into account in the economic field the aims of total apartheid, i.e. not to industrialize the "reserves" and to restrict industrial development to the "white" areas, yet at the same time to be able to exploit the labour power of the Africans, forced to live in the "reserves", the fanatics of racialism developed the concept of "border industrialization". This provides for the establishment of factories of the manufacturing industry in close proximity to the "reserves" but on "white" territory. The labour force for these enterprises, which comprise above all the labour-intensive sections of the manufacturing industry which need mainly unskilled labour, are to be recruited from the inhabitants of the "reserves".

The report of the Tomlinson Commission of 1955 was the theoretical basis of the concept of "border industrialization"[1]. Nevertheless, this recommendation had provided, besides the creation of "border industries", for an "industrialization" of the "reserves" themselves, to put the "reserves", under administration, on an economic basis–even if it should be put an extremely weak one. The White Paper of the S.A. government on the Tomlinson Report hindered, however, by administrative means, this interior "industrialization" of the "reserves" by "white" capital, and reduced it to a small number of projects of pseudo-industrialization under the BIC or XDC respectively. In other essential details, in fact, the Tomlinson Report served as a basis for orientation of government policy.

In order to maintain their extreme racialist aims, and also against the economic interest of some parts of the South African bourgeoisie, the apartheid politicians can–or attempt to–apply considerable political and economic potential in order to make this racialist and (from the macro-economic point of view) ineffective experiment, lucrative for the industrial capitalists, at least in a micro-economic way. To this end, the government applies the following stimuli: Besides low wages and the low cost of real estate, the state grants among others reduced rates for water supply, power, transport, credit facilities, and tax reductions in the shape of privileges in depreciation and a "investment allowance" (up to 35 %) as subsidies to establish factories in certain "border areas"[2]. Furthermore, the government undertakes to erect flats

1 S. Thale, "Are Border Industries Enough?" – Afrika Heute, Bonn, No. 2 1967, p. 19

2 "Greater Benefits for Border Industries", South African Digest, Pretoria, XI No. 18, 8. 5. 64, p. 7

for the white employees[3], or it takes over a large part of the risk of the capitalist in question, by letting to him completely equipped factories[4]. But because, despite all this, the desired results were not achieved, in 1966 a law was announced to force industrial capitalists in a supra-economic, administrative way to invest in border areas[5]. In June 1967, the "Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Bill" was passed by the Vorster government. The "Department of Planning" supervises this Bill, which aims at preventing any further use of African labour in the established industrial regions. In the case of new ventures, the capitalist will be forced to obey this racially determined concept of the government.

By these instruments of the state monopolies, the government tries to solve artifically the contradiction between the realization of total apartheid, and economic interests; and partially it succeeds in doing so, above all by predominantly subsidising the establishment of "border industries" which are in immediate proximity both to a "reserve" and also to a traditional industrial district. As examples we need only look at the districts around the following towns: Rosslyn near Pretoria, Hammarsdale near Durban, Arnoldton near East London in the Ciskei region, the area round Pietermaritzburg and others.

There exist contradictory figures about the real results of "border industrialization" which, apart from state subsidies, is also carried out by the state directly[6]. Although the governmental reports represent presumably a conceited overestimation of real development, the results, compared with the recommendations of the Tomlinson Report, are very insignificant. A governmental report cites that between 1960 and 1967, in all 98 new factories were erected in the "border areas", and 61 existing factories were enlarged[7]. At the end of 1966, 57,100 workers were occupied in the "border industries", among them 44,600 Africans from the "reserves". If we compare this result with the Tomlinson Report, which provided for the creation annually of 50,000 new working places for Africans in the "reserves", outside agriculture, from 1956 to 1981, then the realization corresponds only to about 8.1 % (44,600 as against 550,000) of the governmental recommendations, and is an evident proof of the failure of these racial experiments, illustrating clearly that extreme racist plans cannot be coordinated with the economic interests of some sections of the South African bourgeoisie.

The engagement of foreign monopolist capital for the realization of these racist concepts is nevertheless striking. For instance, the French car trust "Renault" is interested in establishing assembly plants in the "border areas". Representatives of the trust have had successful negotiations with the government of South Africa and have been able already to partially realize their interest.[8]

The results of "border industrialization" thus demonstrate among other things that the South African state, in order to realize its policy of race discrimination, must rely on the aid of foreign capital, as sections of the domestic bourgeoisie develop a partial opposition to the extreme racial experiments of the government.[9] The foreign monopoly bourgeoisie supports these projects of race policy, at it appreciates South Africa as an excellent, politically "safe" and economically lucrative country for capital investment.

The collision between extreme racist and economic interests brings with it the creation of compromises, which take into consideration the concrete conditions of the relation of forces of representatives of both interests. Thus the actual development suggests that the government must abolish the general prohibition against investment of "white" capital within the "reserves".[10] The industrial capitalists voice their conviction that, when investing capital in the "reserves", similar subsidies and stimuli should be offered as in the "border areas"[11]. This tendency is a partial concession to the economic interest, as there exist within the "reserves" a more favourable climate for investments and better conditions for utilization than in the border areas, due to embryonic measures of infra-structure already carried out there, more favourable market conditions, etc.

To sum up, the concept of border industrialization is on the one hand an expression of total apartheid with all its deep anti-human extremes. On the other hand, the concept is not fully realised since the ruling race fanatics of South Africa are forced to take into consideration to a certain degree the economic interests of some sections of the bourgeoisie, who are not always in conformity with the most extreme intentions of apartheid.

W. WILKE (G.D.R.)
Bernau, May 22, 1968

On International Unity of Action of Trade Unions for the Liberation of Southern Africa

The international working class, as the main force in our epoch, is also the most consistent force struggling against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racialism. The national and social liberation of the south of Africa requires, now more than ever, unity of action of the international working class movement and its alliance with the national liberation movements.

Apartheid in South Africa, racist oppression by the illegal regime in Zimbabwe, and the terror and brutality of Portugal's colonial policy, compel the international trade union movement to take a clear-cut stand and positive action. Testimony of this was given when the secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa, met in Dar Es Salaam towards the end of April.

In an appeal to workers and trade union organisations

3 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14. 8. 1967
4 S. Thale, already cited p. 19
5 "Border industry law?" Daily Dispatch, East London, 13. 10. 66, cited in 'Spotlight on South Africa', Dar es Salaam, Vol. 4, No. 45, 11. 11. 66, p. 9
6 Among others S. Thale (already cited), p. 19; "Capital flow towards Border Areas", South African Digest, Pretoria, XI, No. 21, 19. 5. 1964, p. 1 and 12, Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, foreign edition, 23. 3. 1965, p. 6; "Border industry attracts many", South African Digest, already cited, No. 31/1965, 6. 8. 1965, p. 7; "Border Industries Development Project and Progress Report", April 1966.
7 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14. 8. 1967
8 "Capital flow towards Border Areas", already cited p. 12
9 Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, 3. 10. 1967; Glashagen, U. H., "Problems of spatially separated incorporation of the Bantu population of South Africa into the economic apparatus of the country", Pretoria 1967
10 "Homelands sure to interest industrialists", Sunday Express, Johannesburg, 15. 10. 1967, cited in 'Spotlight on South Africa', already cited. Vol. 5, No. 42, 27. 2. 1967, p. 7
11 In the same place and: Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 10. 11. 66

throughout the world, this Meeting demanded: "All workers must step up activities which help to eliminate oppression in Africa . . . The support of the trade union organisations and of all workers is vital to guarantee success. The meeting appeals to workers throughout the world and their trade unions to render material and moral support to these countries."

The activity of this international Committee, since its foundation, has been inseparably linked with the broad-based solidarity of the Federation of German Trade Unions.

It was the trade unions of the GDR which took the initiative in founding such a Committee. The meeting of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions declared in 1960 that "the struggle of the workers and the peoples of South Africa against the most brutal kind of oppression and exploitation, based on racial discrimination and Apartheid, has reached such a degree that individual solidarity is no longer workable."

The WFTU appeal and the first conference of the International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity with the Workers and People of South Africa, have met with wide response in the GDR. Between 1961 and 1963 the FDGB organised in all factories and institutions broad solidarity campaigns in support of the working people in South Africa. Persecuted South African trade unionists and their families were accommodated in the GDR, where they were given the opportunity of studying and of vocational training. It is characteristic that this solidarity of the FDGB with all peoples struggling for their freedom is demonstrated by the mass of FDGB members. It is certainly well known that the members of the FDGB, besides paying their monthly membership fees, are buying solidarity stamps. These voluntary solidarity contributions rose by 63.8 % in 1967, compared with the 1963 total.

What is the reason for this genuine mass solidarity of the GDR trade unions?

In the first place it is intrinsic in the revolutionary character of the FDGB, which is guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism. The struggle of the working people in South Africa, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese colonies; the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the dirty US war; the struggle of the Arab peoples against the reactionary Israeli forces–this is our struggle too, our common struggle against one and the same enemy, and for the same ideals.

This, however, does not by itself fully explain the mass solidarity shown by trade union members in the GDR. The essential thing is that, thanks to the liquidation of the roots of imperialism and to the educational activity of the working-class party and the trade unions, the spectres of anti-communism, of nationalist supremacy, of chauvinism and racial hatred, have been overcome once and for all, and the ideas of proletarian internationalism and friendship among peoples have become the natural, moral characteristic of all our working people.

Accordingly, it is no accident that the 7th FDGB Congress two weeks ago unanimously re-affirmed its solidarity with the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and other countries, who struggle against race hatred and Apartheid. FDGB chairman Herbert Warnke said at the Congress: "In view of the monopolies' concerted action against the working class and against peoples struggling for their liberation, we regard the development and consolidation of the unity of workers all over the world, and international cooperation of the trade unions, as an urgent task. Imperialism bears the main responsibility for hunger, poverty and ignorance still existing in many parts of the world today. We re-affirm our solidarity with all peoples struggling for their freedom and independence."

Within the International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and the People of South Africa, also, the FDGB is working for cooperation among the trade unions. The fact that the FDGB at the 2nd conference of the Committee in 1964 was the only European trade union organisation to be elected onto its secretariat, testifies to the great respect, the working people in the GDR enjoy.

As early as the 1964 conference, it had become obvious that the struggle against Apartheid presented favourable opportunities for bringing about unity of action of the international trade union movement. 42 trade unions from all continents were represented. Twelve of them were affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, five to the All-African Trade Union Federation, and the rest were either autonomous or affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Today the circle of participants has widened even further.

At the recent meeting of the Committee's secretariat, further progress with regard to its effectiveness has been achieved. Significantly, the Committee intends to carry out its activity on a broader basis. Having noted that the Apartheid policy and racialism are increasingly affecting territories beyond the frontiers of South Africa, such as Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South West Africa and the Portuguese-held countries, the Secretariat decided to rename the committee the "International Trade Union Committee for Solidarity against Apartheid, Racialism and Colonialism" This shows that the Committee is aware of the new situation and the great danger which the white bloc in Southern Africa constitues to the national and social liberation of the continent.

The members of the secretariat condemned the USA, Great Britain, France, Japan, Italy and West Germany for ignoring relevant UN decisions. They exposed the active support of the Bonn Government and the West German monopolies for the Apartheid regime.

It was a logical consequence of the collaboration between the reactionary regimes in Southern Africa and the imperialist monopolies, when the secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee called upon the workers in the imperialist countries to exert pressure on their governments in order once and for all to liquidate the racialist and colonialist regimes.

The working people of the GDR, by contributing actively to the strengthening of their socialist country, and supporting the working-class and democratic forces in West Germany in their struggle against the reactionary state monopolist regime, are acting fully in this spirit.

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